

THE GILDED AGE

United States History ACP
Social Studies Department
Wellesley High School
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The Gilded Age (1870-1900): A Nation Transformed & An Age of Extremes

What does “gilded” mean?

This unit will be broken up into three sections:

- The West
- Big Business and Organized Labor
- Immigration, Urbanization, & Politics

Each section in this unit took place during the Gilded Age. As we explore the different sections in the unit, keep in mind the essential questions and the common themes that are present throughout the sections.

Essential Questions:

- What qualities make this era the “Gilded Age”?
- What was the relationship between the federal government, businesses, and citizens during the Gilded Age?
- To what extent was the Gilded Age characterized by laissez-faire economics?

Davis, Kenneth C. Don't Know Much About History.
New York: Harper Collins Publisher, 2003.

In thirty-five years, from Civil War's end to the twentieth century, America moved with astonishing speed from a war-torn nation of farmers to an industrial empire holding far-flung possessions. By the end of the First World War in 1918, the United States stood among the first rank of global powers.

Powering this dynamic growth was a lightning bolt of industrial development that spread railroads, built steel mills, and opened oil fields. This industrial surge was joined to a simultaneous explosion of practical invention, best exemplified by names that are now familiar parts of the American vocabulary: Edison, Bell, Westinghouse, Wright, and Pullman.

But progress carries a price tag. It was, as Mark Twain and Charles Dudley Warner titled their collaborative novel about this era, *The Gilded Age*: beautiful on the surface, but cheap, base, and tarnished underneath. For every mile of railroad laid, every ton of coal or iron ore mined, thousands of workers died. Many of them were immigrants or war veterans, miserably underpaid, working in unsafe and unsanitary conditions, with little or no political voice. The new fortunes being made opened up an era of astonishing corruption. The outlaws of the Wild West were small-time hoodlums compared with the politicians of New York and Washington, who brazenly bilked millions, and to the millionaire industrialists who kept these politicians in their pockets.

Since the Revolution, the American political process had opened up through agonizingly slow reforms, but power remained in the tight grip of the few. That was what the Founders had envisioned: a nation ruled by an enlightened aristocracy comprising gentlemen with the leisure and education to debate issues and rule judiciously. But in this period of a growing empire, more than ever before, the keys to government were pocketed by the powerful and wealthy, the great industrial and banking magnates who literally owned the government and turned it to their personal enrichment. It was what Alexander Hamilton might have had in mind when the Constitution was being debated, and it was light-years away from the agrarian republic that Jefferson envisioned.

The new industrialists were America's Medici, and they dictated

American policies as surely as those Italian bankers had owned popes and principalities. Viewed beside Morgan, Gould, Rockefeller, and Carnegie, the postwar presidents in office were either weak, inept, or corrupt. Not until the rise of Theodore Roosevelt—himself the scion of a wealthy family and certainly no liberal in the modern sense of the word—would the White House be powerful enough to challenge these merchant princes.

Pitted against them were the powerless. Immigrant laborers dying in the deserts and mountains as the railroad inched across the West. The urban poor working the factories and only slowly acquiring power through the unions that were fought with the deadly force of state militias and federal troops. Homesteaders who lost out to the railroad czars and cattle barons in incredible land grabs. Women filling the sweatshops of the swelling cities, yet still invisible on Election Day. And the Indians, last remnants of the millions in America when Columbus arrived. It was the subjugation of the few unconquered tribes that opened this era, but they did not go gently to their deaths.

AMERICAN VOICES

GENERAL WILLIAM TECUMSEH SHERMAN, 1867:

The more Indians we can kill this year, the less will have to be killed the next war, for the more I see of these Indians, the more convinced I am that they all have to be killed or be maintained as a species of paupers.

CHIEF GALL, a leader of the Hunkpapa Sioux warriors at Little Bighorn:

If you had a country which was very valuable, which had always belonged to your people . . . and men of another race came to take it away by force, what would your people do? Would they fight?

Name
Date

THE GILDED AGE: An Age of Extremes

Class

Glittering on the Surface	What's Undemeath

SECTION 1: THE AMERICAN WEST

FOCUS QUESTIONS:

- **WHAT WERE THE BENEFITS AND DRAWBACKS TO THE PHILOSOPHY OF MANIFEST DESTINY?**
- **WHAT WAS THE IMPACT OF THE TRANSCONTINENTAL RAILROAD ON WESTERN DEVELOPMENT?**
- **WHAT WAS THE ROLE OF THE U.S. GOVERNMENT IN THE SETTLEMENT OF THE WEST?**
- **WHAT ROLE DID "RUGGED INDIVIDUALISM" PLAY IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE WEST?**
- **DID THE FRONTIER DEFINE AMERICAN IDENTITY?**
- **WHAT WAS THE REALITY OF LIFE IN THE WEST?**
- **HOW DID THE U.S. GOVERNMENT ATTEMPT TO DEAL WITH THE GROWING CONFLICT BETWEEN SETTLERS AND NATIVE AMERICANS IN THE WEST?**

Name:

Date:

US 32
Berenson/Tallevi

John L. O'Sullivan on *Manifest Destiny*, 1839

(Excerpted from "The Great Nation of Futurity," *The United States Democratic Review*, Volume 6, Issue 23, pp. 426-430.)

The American people having derived their origin from many other nations, and the Declaration of National Independence being entirely based on the great principle of human equality, these facts demonstrate at once our disconnected position as regards any other nation; that we have, in reality, but little connection with the past history of any of them, and still less with all antiquity, its glories, or its crimes. On the contrary, our national birth was the beginning of a new history, the formation and progress of an untried political system, which separates us from the past and connects us with the future only; and so far as regards the entire development of the natural rights of man, in moral, political, and national life, we may confidently assume that our country is destined to be the great nation of futurity.

The expansive future is our arena, and for our history. We are entering on its untrodden space, with the truths of God in our minds, beneficent objects in our hearts, and with a clear conscience unsullied by the past. We are the nation of human progress, and who will, what can, set limits to our onward march? Providence is with us, and no earthly power can. We point to the everlasting truth on the first page of our national declaration, and we proclaim to the millions of other lands, that "the gates of hell" -- the powers of aristocracy and monarchy -- "shall not prevail against it."

The far-reaching, the boundless future will be the era of American greatness. In its magnificent domain of space and time, the nation of many nations is destined to manifest to mankind the excellence of divine principles; to establish on earth the noblest temple ever dedicated to the worship of the Most High -- the Sacred and the True. Its floor shall be a hemisphere -- its roof the firmament of the star-studded heavens, and its congregation an Union of many Republics, comprising hundreds of happy millions, calling, owning no man master, but governed by God's natural and moral law of equality, the law of brotherhood -- of "peace and good will amongst men." . . .

Yes, we are the nation of progress, of individual freedom, of universal enfranchisement. Equality of rights is the cynosure of our union of States, the grand exemplar of the correlative equality of individuals. . . We must onward to the fulfillment of our mission -- to the entire development of the principle of our organization -- freedom of conscience, freedom of person, freedom of trade and business pursuits, universality of freedom and equality. This is our high destiny, and in nature's eternal, inevitable decree of cause and effect we must accomplish it. All this will be our future history, to establish on earth the moral dignity and salvation of man -- the immutable truth and beneficence of God. For this blessed mission to the nations of the world, which are shut out from the life-giving light of truth, has America been chosen; and her high example shall smite unto death the tyranny of kings, hierarchs, and oligarchs, and carry the glad tidings of peace and good will where myriads now endure an existence scarcely more enviable than that of beasts of the field. Who, then, can doubt that our country is destined to be *the great nation of futurity*?

Workers, including those who had taken part in the first large-scale African American migration from the South to Northern industrial cities, came west to work in relatively high-paying jobs in these factories. On the Pacific Coast, African American migrants often moved into neighborhoods vacated by Japanese Americans and older Japanese

In popular culture, the West is seen as dichromatic – with whites and Indians. In reality, the West was more diverse than that, with large-scale immigration from Asia, Mexico, and later other places in Latin America, as well as Europe and Canada.

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Born Modern: An Overview of the West by, Richard White, Ph. D.

Directions: Please Read the attached article and answer the following questions below.

1. Why does White argue that the West is not a creation of geography, but of history?
2. Why does White argue that “the West is one of the many places that the South lost and lost badly”?
3. How did the Civil War lead to the growth of federal power in the West?
4. What came first in the West - settlement or the development of economic markets? Why?
5. What type of economic society developed in the West after the Civil War? Why did it develop?

6. How did the combination of a strong federal government with an industrial and commercial society defeat Native Americans?
7. What were the consequences of such a rapid westward expansion?
8. How did the federal government's response ("The New Deal") to the Great Depression of the 1930s change the west?
9. How did World War II change the west?
10. According to White, what is striking when analyzing a broad overview of the West?

The Transcontinental Railroad - The Work of Giants

Name: _____

Color: _____

1. The railroad was to go between _____ and _____.
2. It took _____ years to build.
3. About _____ men worked on this great project.
4. The major purpose as the politicians in D.C. told it was to tie _____ closer to the rest of the U.S.
5. What was the toughest section to build?
6. Who was "Crazy Judah"?
7. What was Leland Stanford's role in this project?
8. The railroad company organized to head _____ (direction) was the Central Pacific.
The Union Pacific was to head _____.
9. About how many railroad ties and miles of track were there in the transcontinental railroad?
10. What were big problems for the workers heading east?
11. How did they span a ravine?
12. Why were there chronic labor shortages?
13. Who were "Crocker's Pets"?
14. Who was T.C. Durant?
15. Who was Grenville Dodge?

16. What problems were there building a railroad in the grasslands of Nebraska?
17. What did the Sioux words *Muzza Chunku* mean?
18. What paid better: being a laborer or a tie hack?
19. How did the railroad rid the lands of Indians who resented these permanent rails on their hunting and sacred grounds?
20. Define "Hell in a basket."
- Define "Hell on wheels."
21. Once you got a train up and running, what were the dangers?
22. What challenge did the Sierra-Nevadas present?
23. At what pace did they blast/ tunnel through the granite (feet per day)?
24. Where did the 2 railroads meet?
25. When did they meet?
26. How long did it then take to travel from San Francisco to New York? _____ days
27. Of what other significance is this transcontinental railroad?
28. Translate the Chinese words *Ti Lo*.
29. Using their American experience, the Chinese then built _____.
30. This event inspired Jules Verne to write _____.

The Homestead Act

May 20, 1862

(U. S. Statutes at Large, Vol. XII, p. 392 ff.)

AN ACT to secure homesteads to actual settlers on the public domain.

Be it enacted, That any person who is the head of a family, or who has arrived at the age of twenty-one years, and is a citizen of the United States, or who shall have filed his declaration of intention to become such, as required by the naturalization laws of the United States, and who has never borne arms against the United States Government or given aid and comfort to its enemies, shall, from and after the first of January, eighteen hundred and sixty-three, be entitled to enter one quarter-section or a less quantity of unappropriated public lands, upon which said person may have filed a pre-emption claim, or which may, at the time the application is made, be subject to pre-emption at one dollar and twenty-five cents, or less, per acre; or eighty acres or less of such unappropriated lands, at two dollars and fifty cents per acre, to be located in a body, in conformity to the legal subdivisions of the public lands, and after the same shall have been surveyed: Provided, That any person owning or residing on land may, under the provisions of this act, enter other land lying contiguous to his or her said land, which shall not, with the land so already owned and occupied, exceed in the aggregate one hundred and sixty acres.

Sec. 2. That the person applying for the benefit of this act shall, upon application to the register of the land office in which he or she is about to make such entry, make affidavit before the said register or receiver that he or she is the head of a family, or is twenty-one or more years of age, or shall have performed service in the Army or Navy of the United States, and that he has never borne arms against the Government of the United States or given aid and comfort to its enemies, and that such application is made for his or her exclusive use and benefit, and that said entry is made for the purpose of actual settlement and cultivation, and not, either directly or indirectly, for the use or benefit of any other person or persons whomsoever; and upon filing the said affidavit with the register or receiver, and on payment of ten dollars, he or she shall thereupon be permitted to enter the quantity of land specified: Provided, however, That no certificate shall be given or patent issued therefor until the expiration of five years from the date of such entry; and if, at the expiration of such time, or at any time within two years thereafter, the person making such entry -- or if he be dead, his widow; or in case of her death, his heirs or devisee; or in case of a widow making such entry, her heirs or devisee, in case of her death -- shall prove by two credible witnesses that he, she, or they have resided upon or cultivated the same for the term of five years immediately succeeding the time of filing the affidavit aforesaid, and shall make affidavit that no part of said land has been alienated, and that he has borne true allegiance to the Government of the United States; then, in such case, he, she, or they, if at that time a citizen of the United States, shall be entitled to a patent, as in other cases provided for by law: And provided, further, That in case of the death of both father and mother, leaving an infant child or children under twenty-one years of age, the right and fee shall inure to the benefit of said infant child or children, and the executor, administrator, or guardian may, at any time within two years after the death of the surviving parent, and in accordance with the laws of the State in which such children for the time being have their domicile, sell said land for the benefit of said infants, but for no other purpose; and the purchaser shall acquire the absolute title by the purchase, and be entitled to a patent from the United States, and payment of the office fees and sum of money herein specified.. ..

PROOF REQUIRED UNDER HOMESTEAD ACTS MAY 20, 1862, AND JUNE 21, 1866.

WE, *Joseph Craff* & *Samuel Kilpatrick* do solemnly swear that we have known *Daniel Freeman* for *over five* years last past; that he is *the head of a family* consisting of *wife* and *two* children and is — a citizen of the United States; that he is an inhabitant of the *SE 1/4 NW 1/4 NE 1/4 SW 1/4 of NE 1/4* of section No. *26* in Township No. *4 N* of Range No. *5 E* and that no other person resided upon the said land entitled to the right of Homestead or Pre-emption.

That the said *Daniel Freeman* entered upon and made settlement on said land on the *1st* day of *January*, 1868, and has built a house thereon *part log & part frame 14 by 20 feet one story, with two doors two windows, shingle roof, board floors and is a comfortable home to live in*

and has lived in the said house and made it his exclusive home from the *1st* day of *January*, 1868, to the present time, and that he has since said settlement ploughed, fenced, and cultivated about *30* acres of said land, and has made the following improvements thereon, to wit: *built a stable, a sheep shed 100 feet long, corn crib, and has 40 apple and about 400 peach trees set out.* *Joseph Craff*
Samuel Kilpatrick.

I, *Henry M. Atkinson*, Register, do hereby certify that the above affidavit was taken and subscribed before me this *20th* day of *January*, 1868.

Henry M. Atkinson
Register

WE CERTIFY that *Joseph Craff* & *Samuel Kilpatrick*, whose names are subscribed to the foregoing affidavit, are persons of respectability.

Henry M. Atkinson, Register.
John C. Allen, Receiver.

FREDERICK JACKSON TURNER

FROM *The Frontier in American History* (1893)

More than any other scholar, historian Frederick Jackson Turner influenced American attitudes toward the role of the West in shaping American values and institutions. Born in Portage, Wisconsin, in 1861, he taught at the University of Wisconsin from 1889 until 1910, when he joined Harvard's faculty. In 1893 he outlined his "frontier thesis" to the American Historical Society. Turner claimed that the process of western settlement was the defining characteristic of American society. Yet he concluded that at the end of the nineteenth century the frontier era had ended, and he worried that its beneficial effects would be lost to future generations of Americans. His frontier thesis was widely accepted. Today, however, historians criticize him for ignoring the role of women, evading the moral issues associated with the exploitation of the Native Americans, and asserting a simplistic connection between geography and political ideology.

From Frederick Jackson Turner, *The Frontier in American History* (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1920), pp. 1-4, 22-23, 29-31, 32, 37-38.

52 CHAPTER 19 NEW FRONTIERS: SOUTH AND WEST

REVIEW QUESTIONS

1. What do you think Turner meant by the term "Americanization"?
2. According to Turner, in what crucial respect did western states differ from those on the Atlantic coast?
3. Turner equated the frontier with the American character. Does his set of national characteristics accurately describe Americans today?
4. In suggesting that the frontier was ultimately synonymous with a "new field of opportunity," what did Turner imply about other living environments in nineteenth-century American life?

In a recent bulletin of the Superintendent of the Census for 1890 appear these significant words: "Up to and including 1880 the country had a frontier of settlement, but at present the unsettled area has been so broken into by isolated bodies of settlement that there can hardly be said to be a frontier line. In the discussion of its extent, its westward movement, etc., it can not, therefore, any longer have a place in census reports." This brief official statement marks the closing of a great historic movement. Up to our own day American history has been in a large degree the history of the colonization of the Great West. The existence of an area of free land, its continuous recession, and the advance of American settlement westward explain American development.

Behind institutions, behind constitutional forms and modifications, lie the vital forces that call these organs into life and shape them to meet changing conditions. The peculiarity of American institutions is the fact that they have been compelled to adapt themselves to the changes of an expanding people—to the changes involved in crossing a continent, in winning a wilderness, and in developing at each area of this progress out of the primitive economic and political conditions of the frontier into the complexity of city life. Said Calhoun¹ in 1817, "we are great, and rapidly—I was about to say fearfully—growing!" So saying, he touched the distinguishing feature of American life.

* * *

In the case of most nations, however, the development has occurred in a limited area; and if the nation has expanded, it has met other growing peoples whom it has conquered. But in the case of the United States we have a different phenomenon. Limiting our attention to the Atlantic coast, we have the familiar phenomenon of the evolution of institutions in a limited area, such as the rise of representative government; the differentiation of simple colonial governments into complex organs; the progress from primitive industrial so-

ciety, without division of labor, up to manufacturing civilization. But we have in addition to this a recurrence of the process of evolution in each western area reached in the process of expansion. Thus American development has exhibited not merely advance along a single line, but a return to primitive conditions on a continually advancing frontier line, and a new development for that area.

American social development has been continually beginning over again on the frontier. This perennial rebirth, this fluidity of American life, this expansion westward with its new opportunities, its continuous touch with the simplicity of primitive society, furnish the forces dominating American character. The true point of view in the history of this nation is not the Atlantic coast, it is the Great West. . . .

In this advance, the frontier is the outer edge of the wave—the meeting point between savagery and civilization. . . . The most significant thing about the American frontier is, that it lies at the hither edge of free land.

* * *

In the settlement of America we have to observe how European life entered the continent, and how America modified and developed that life and reacted on Europe. Our early history is the study of European germs developing in an American environment. . . . The frontier is the line of most rapid and effective Americanization. The wilderness masters the colonist. It finds him a European in dress, industries, tools, modes of travel, and thought. It takes him from the railroad car and puts him in the birch canoe. It strips off the garments of civilization and arrays him in the hunting shirt and the moccasin. It puts him in the log cabin of the Cherokee and Iroquois and runs an Indian palisade around him. Before long he has gone to planting Indian corn and plowing with a sharp stick; he shouts the war cry and takes the scalp in orthodox Indian fashion. In short, at the frontier the environment is at first too strong for the man. He must accept the conditions which it furnishes, or perish, and so he fits himself into the Indian clearings and follows the Indian trails. Lit-

¹ John C. Calhoun (1782–1850).

tle by little he transforms the wilderness, but the outcome is not the old Europe. . . .

The fact is, that here is a new product that is American. At first, the frontier was the Atlantic coast. It was the frontier of Europe in a very real sense. Moving westward the frontier becomes more and more American. . . . Thus the advance of the frontier has meant a steady movement away from the influence of Europe, a steady growth of independence on American lines. And to study this advance, the men who grew up under these conditions, and the political, economic, and social results of it, is to study the really American part of our history.

* * *

First, we note that the frontier promoted the formation of a composite nationality for the American people. The coast was preponderantly English, but the later tides of continental immigration flowed across to the free lands. . . . In the crucible of the frontier the immigrants were Americanized, liberated, and fused into a mixed race, English in neither nationality nor characteristics. The process has gone on from the early days to our own. . . .

But the most important effect of the frontier has been in the promotion of democracy here and in Europe. As has been indicated, the frontier is productive of individualism. Complex society is precipitated by the wilderness into a kind of primitive organization based on the family. The tendency is anti-social. It produces antipathy to control, and particularly to any direct control.

The frontier States that came into the Union in the first quarter of a century of its existence came in with democratic suffrage provisions, and had reactive effects of the highest importance upon the older States whose peoples were being attracted there. An extension of the franchise became essential. . . .

But the democracy born of free land, strong in selfishness and individualism, intolerant of administrative experience and education, and pressing individual liberty beyond its proper bounds, has its dangers as well as its benefits. Individualism in America has allowed a laxity in regard to gov-

ernmental affairs which has rendered possible the spoils system and all the manifest evils that follow from a highly developed civil spirit. . . .

The works of travelers along each frontier from colonial days onward describe certain common traits, and these traits have, while softening down, still persisted as survivals in the place of their origin, even when a higher social organization succeeded. The result is that to the frontier the American intellect owes its striking characteristics. The coarseness and strength combined with acuteness and inquisitiveness; that practical, inventive turn of mind, quick to find expedients; that masterful grasp of material things, lacking in the artistic but powerful to effect great ends; that restless nervous energy; that dominant individualism, working for good and for evil, and withal that buoyancy and exuberance which comes with freedom—these are traits of the frontier, or traits called out elsewhere because of the existence of the frontier.

Since the days when the fleet of Columbus sailed into the waters of the New World, America has been another name for opportunity, and the people of the United States have taken their tone from the incessant expansion which has not only been open but has even been forced upon them. He would be a rash prophet who should assert that the expansive character of American life has now entirely ceased. Movement has been its dominant fact, and, unless this training has no effect upon a people, the American energy will continually demand a wider field for its exercise. . . . yet, in spite of environment, and in spite of custom, each frontier did indeed furnish a new field of opportunity. . . . And now, four centuries from the discovery of America, at the end of a hundred years of life under the Constitution, the frontier has gone, and with its going has closed the first period of American history.

What was the reality of life in the west?

I. Homesteaders

1. What lured your group to the west?	2. How did your group use the land to its advantage?
3. How was the reality of life in the west different from the perception?	

II. Immigrants

1. What lured your group to the west?	2. How did your group use the land to its advantage?
3. How was the reality of life in the west different from the perception?	

III. Cattle Kingdom

1. What lured your group to the west?	2. How did your group use the land to its advantage?
3. How was the reality of life in the west different from the perception?	

IV. Mining frontier

1. What lured your group to the west?	2. How did your group use the land to its advantage?
3. How was the reality of life in the west different from the perception?	

What was the reality of life in the West?

1. What were the commonalities between the different groups you explored?
2. What were the striking differences in the experiences in the various groups?
3. Which groups would you have liked to be a part of? Explain.

16.1 American Indian Populations in the U.S.

POPULATION

According to U.S. Census Bureau figures, there were 1,959,234 American Indians and Alaska Natives living in the United States in 1990 (1,878,285 American Indians, 57,152 Eskimos, and 23,797 Aleuts). This is a 37.9 percent increase over the 1980 recorded total of 1,420,400. The increase is attributed to improved census taking and more self-identification during the 1990 count. The BIA's 1990 estimate is that almost 950,000 individuals of this total population live on or adjacent to federal Indian reservations.

RESERVATIONS

The number of Indian land areas in the U.S. administered as Federal Indian reservations (reservations, pueblos, rancherias, communities, etc.) total 278. The largest is the Navajo Reservation of some 16 million acres of land in Arizona, New Mexico and Utah. Many of the smaller reservations are less than 1,000 acres with the smallest less than 100 acres. On each reservation, the local governing authority is the tribal government. The states in which the reservations are located have limited powers over them, and only as provided by federal law. On some reservations, however, a high percentage of the land is owned and occupied by non-Indians. Some 140 reservations have entirely tribally owned land.

TRUST LANDS

A total of 56.2 million acres of land are held in trust by the United States for various Indian tribes and individuals. Much of this is reservation land; however, not all reservations land is trust land. On behalf of the United States, the Secretary of the Interior serves as trustee for such lands with many routine trustee responsibilities delegated to BIA officials.

TRIBES

There are 510 federally recognized tribes in the United States, including about 200 village groups in Alaska. "Federally-recognized" means these tribes and groups have a special, legal relationship to the U.S. government and its agent, the BIA, depending upon the particular situation of each tribe.

BIRTH RATE—Birth rates were 28.0 births per 1,000 in 1986-88. The U.S. all-races rate was 15.7 births per 1,000 in 1987. The infant death rate was 9.7 per 1,000 live births in 1986-88, while the U.S. all-races was 10.1 per 1,000 births in 1987.

LIFE EXPECTANCY—In 1979-81, life expectancy was 71.1 years (males, 67.1 years and females 75.1 years). These figures are based on 1980 census information. Diseases of the heart and accidents continue to be the two major causes of death among American Indians and Alaska Natives. The 1988 age-adjusted death rate for diseases of the heart was 138.1 per 100,000 of the population and 166.3 per 100,000 for all U.S. races. In the same period, the age-adjusted death rate from accidents was 80.8 percent per 100,000, including 44.7 related to motor vehicle accidents and 36.1 from other accidents. The U.S. all-races 1988 age-adjusted rate was 35.0 per 100,000, including 19.7 related to motor vehicle accidents and 15.3 related to other accidents. The age-adjusted suicide death rate for the population has decreased 29 percent since its peak in 1975 (21.1 deaths per 100,000 population). The Indian rate for 1988 was 14.5 compared to the U.S. all-races rate of 11.4.

PRIMARY FEDERAL AGENCY

The Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) in the U.S. Department of the Interior, is the federal agency with primary responsibility for working with federally recognized Indian tribal governments and with Alaska Native village communities. A principal BIA responsibility is administering and managing some 56.2 million acres of land held in trust by the United States for American Indians. The BIA was established in 1824 in the War Department. It became an agency of the Department of the Interior when the Department was created in 1849.

FEDERAL APPROPRIATIONS

Over the past decade, the annual budget for the BIA has averaged approximately \$1 billion. The fiscal year 1991 appropriation for the BIA is \$1.5 billion for the principal program categories of: Education, \$554.5 million; Tribal Services (including social services and law enforcement), \$338.9 million; Economic Development, \$14.6 million; Navajo-Hopi Settlement, \$1.4 million; Natural Resources, \$139.7 million; Trust Responsibilities, \$74.7 million; Facilities Management, \$94.2 million; General Administration \$112.0 million; Construction, \$167.6 million; Indian Loan Guaranty, \$11.7 million; Miscellaneous Payments to Indians, \$56.1 million; and Navajo Rehabilitation Trust Fund, \$3.0 million.

LANGUAGE

At the end of the 15th century, more than 300 languages were spoken by the native population of what is now the United States. Some were linked by "linguistic stocks" which meant that widely scattered tribal groups had some similarities in their languages. Today, some 250 tribal languages are still spoken, some by only a few individuals and others by many. Most American Indians now use English as their main language for communicating with non-tribal members. For many, it is a second language.

MILITARY SERVICE

American Indians have the same obligations for military service as other U.S. citizens. They have fought in all American wars since the Revolution. In the Civil War, they served on both sides. Eli S. Parker, Seneca from New York, was at Appamattox as aide to Gen. Ulysses S. Grant when Lee surrendered, and the unit of Confederate Brigadier General Stand Watie, Cherokee, was the last to surrender. It was not until World War I that Indians' demonstrated patriotism (6,000 of the more than 8,000 who served were volunteers) moved Congress to pass the Indian Citizenship Act of 1924. In World War II, 25,000 Indian men and women, mainly enlisted Army personnel, fought on all fronts in Europe and Asia, winning (according to an incomplete count) 71 Air Medals, 51 Silver Stars, 47 Bronze Stars, 34 Distinguished Flying Crosses, and two Congressional Medals of Honor. The most famous Indian exploit of World War II was the use by Navajo Marines of their language as a battlefield code, the only such code which the enemy could not break. In the Korean conflict, there was one American Indian Congressional Medal of Honor winner. In the Vietnam War, 41,500 Indians served in the military forces. In 1990, prior to Operation Desert Storm, some 24,000 Indian men and women were in the military. Approximately 3,000 served in the Persian Gulf with three among those killed in action. One out of every four American Indian males is a military veteran and 45 to 47 percent of tribal leaders today are military veterans.

VOTING RIGHTS

In 1948, the Arizona Supreme Court declared unconstitutional disenfranchising interpretations of the state constitution and Indians were permitted to vote as in most other states. A 1953 Utah state law stated that persons living on Indian reservations were not residents of the state and could not vote. That law was subsequently repealed. In 1954, Indians in Maine who were not then federally recognized were given the right to vote, and in 1962, New Mexico extended the right to vote to Indians.

OFFICE HOLDING

American Indians have been elected to the U.S. Congress from time to time for more than 80 years. Ben Reifel, a Sioux Indian from South Dakota, served five terms in the U.S. House of Representatives. Ben Nighthorse Campbell, a member of the Northern Cheyenne Tribe of Montana, was elected to the U.S. House of Representatives in 1986 from the Third District of Colorado, and is currently serving in his third term. He is the only American Indian currently serving in Congress.

Indians also served and now hold office in a number of state legislatures. Others currently hold or have held elected or appointive positions in state judiciary systems and in county and city governments including local school boards.

TREATIES

Congress ended treaty-making with Indian tribes in 1871. Since then, relations with Indian groups are by congressional acts, executive orders, and executive agreements. The treaties that were made often contain obsolete commitments which have either been fulfilled or superseded by congressional legislation. The provision of educational, health, welfare, and other services by the government to tribes often has extended beyond treaty requirements. Many large Indian groups have no treaties, yet share in the many services for Indians provided by the federal government.

The specifics of particular treaties signed by government negotiators with Indians are contained in one volume (Vol. II) of the publication, "Indian Affairs, Laws and Treaties," compiled, annotated and edited by Charles Kappler. Published by the Government Printing Office in 1904, it is now out of print, but can be found in most large law libraries. More recently, the treaty volume has been published privately under the title, "Indian Treaties, 1778-1883."

Originals of all the treaties are maintained by the National Archives and Records Service of the General Services Administration. A duplicate of a treaty is available upon request for a fee. The agency will also answer questions about specific Indian treaties. Write to: Diplomatic Branch, National Archives and Records Service, Washington, D.C. 20408.

TRIBAL GOVERNMENT

Most tribal governments are organized democratically, that is, with an elected leadership. The governing body is generally referred to as a "council" and is comprised of persons elected by vote of the eligible adult tribal members. The presiding official is the "chairman," although some tribes use other titles such as "principal chief," "president" or "governor." An elected tribal council, recognized as such by the Secretary of the Interior, has authority to speak and act for the tribe and to represent it in negotiations with federal, state, and local governments.

Tribal governments generally define conditions of membership, regulate domestic relations of members, prescribe rules of inheritance for reservation property not in trust status, levy taxes, regulate property under tribal jurisdiction, control conduct of members by tribal ordinances, and administer justice.

Many tribes are organized under the Indian Reorganization Act (IRA) of 1934. This includes a number of Alaska Native villages, which adopted formal governing documents (Constitutions) under the provisions of a 1936 amendment to the IRA. The passage in 1971 of the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act, however, provided for the creation of village and regional corporations under state law to manage the money and lands granted by the Act. The Oklahoma Indian Welfare Act of 1936 provided for the organization of Indian tribes within the State of Oklahoma. Some tribes do not operate under any of these acts, but are nevertheless organized under documents approved by the Secretary of the Interior. Some tribes continue their traditional forms of governments.

Prior to reorganization, the tribes maintained their own, often highly developed, systems of self-government.

Source: U.S. Bureau of Indian Affairs.

16.4 Largest Indian Reservations

<u>Reservation/State</u>	<u>Population</u>
1. Navajo, Arizona/New Mexico/Utah	143,405
2. Pine Ridge, Nebraska/South Dakota	11,182
3. Fort Apache, Arizona	9,825
4. Gila River, Arizona	9,116
5. Papago, Arizona	8,480
6. Rosebud, South Dakota	8,043
7. San Carlos, Arizona	7,110
8. Zuni Pueblo, Arizona/New Mexico	7,073
9. Hopi, Arizona	7,061
10. Blackfeet, Montana	7,025

16.5 American Indian Tribes with Populations Greater than 30,000

1990 U.S. Census figures

<u>American Indian Tribe</u>	<u>Number</u>
American Indian population total	1,878,285
Cherokee	308,132
Navajo	219,198
Chippewa	103,826
Sioux	103,255
Chiclaw	82,299
Pueblo	52,939
Apache	50,051
Lumbee	49,038
Creek	43,550
Blackfoot	32,234

16.6 Excerpts from Geronimo, *His Own Story*

The Coming of the White Men

About the time of the massacre of "Kaskiyeh" (1858) we heard that some white men were measuring land to the south of us. In company with a number of other warriors I went to visit them. We could not understand them very well, for we had no interpreter, but we made a treaty with them by shaking hands and promising to be brothers. Then we made our camp near their camp, and they came to trade with us. . . . These were the first white men I ever saw.

About ten years later some more white men came. These were all warriors. They made their camp on the Gila River south of Hot Springs. At first they were friendly and we did not dislike them, but they were not as good as those who came first.

After about a year some trouble arose between them and the Indians, and I took the warpath as a warrior, not as a chief. I had not been wronged, but some of my people had been, and I fought with my tribe; for the soldiers and not the Indians were at fault.

Not long after this some of the officers of the United States troops invited our leaders to hold a conference at Apache Pass (Fort Bowie). Just before noon the Indians were shown into a tent and told that they would be given something to eat. When in the tent they were attacked by soldiers. Our chief, Mangus-Colorado, and several other warriors, by cutting through the tent, escaped; but most of the warriors were killed or captured. After this treachery the Indians went back to the mountains and left the fort entirely alone. I believe it was entirely planned by the soldiers.

From the very first the soldiers sent out to our western country, and the officers in charge of them did not hesitate to wrong the Indians. They never explained to the Government when an Indian was wronged, but always reported the misdeeds of the Indians. Much that was done by mean white men was reported at Washington as the deeds of my people.

The Indians always tried to live peaceably with the white soldiers and settlers. One day during the time that the soldiers were stationed at Apache Pass I made a treaty with the post. This was done by shaking hands and promising to be brothers. Cochise and Mangus-Colorado did likewise. I do not know the name of the officer in command, but this was the first regiment that ever came to Apache Pass. This treaty was made about a year before we were attacked in a tent, as above related. In a few days after the attack at Apache Pass we organized in the mountains and returned to fight the soldiers. There were two tribes—the Bedonkohe and the Chokonon Apaches, both commanded by Cochise. After a few days' skirmishing we attacked a freight train that was coming in with supplies for the Fort. We killed some of the men and captured the others. These prisoners our chief offered to trade for the Indians whom the soldiers had captured at the massacre in the tent. This the officers refused, so we killed our prisoners, disbanded, and went into hiding in the mountains. Of those who took part in this affair I am the only one now living.

In a few days troops were sent out to search for us, but as we were disbanded, it was, of course, impossible for them to locate any hostile camp. During the time they were searching for us many of our warriors (who were thought by the soldiers to be peaceable Indians) talked to the officers and men, advising them where they might find the camp they sought, and while they searched we watched them from our hiding places and laughed at their failures.

After this trouble all of the Indians agreed not to be friendly with the white men any more. There was no general engagement, but a long struggle followed. Sometimes we attacked the white men, sometimes they attacked us. First a few Indians would be killed and then a few soldiers. I think the killing was about equal on each side. The number killed in these troubles did not amount to much, but this treachery on the part of the soldiers had angered the Indians and revived memories of other wrongs, so that we never again trusted the United States troops.

Archives of the West from 1877-1887
Indian Policy Reform
Extract from President Chester Arthur's

First Annual Message to Congress

December 6, 1881

(Richardson, ed. Messages and Papers, Vol. VIII, p. 54 ff.)

. . . Prominent among the matters which challenge the attention of Congress at its present session is the management of our Indian affairs. While this question has been a cause of trouble and embarrassment from the infancy of the Government, it is but recently that any effort has been made for its solution at once serious, determined, consistent, and promising success.

It has been easier to resort to convenient makeshifts for tiding over temporary difficulties than to grapple with the great permanent problem, and accordingly the easier course has almost invariably been pursued.

It was natural, at a time when the national territory seemed almost illimitable and contained many millions of acres far outside the bounds of civilized settlements, that a policy should have been initiated which more than aught else has been the fruitful source of our Indian complications.

I refer, of course, to the policy of dealing with the various Indian tribes as separate nationalities, of relegating them by treaty stipulations to the occupancy of immense reservations in the West, and of encouraging them to live a savage life, undisturbed by any earnest and well-directed efforts to bring them under the influences of civilization.

The unsatisfactory results which have sprung from this policy are becoming apparent to all.

As the white settlements have crowded the borders of the reservations, the Indians, sometimes contentedly and sometimes against their will, have been transferred to other hunting grounds, from which they have again been dislodged whenever their new-found homes have been desired by the adventurous settlers.

These removals and the frontier collisions by which they have often been preceded have led to frequent and disastrous conflicts between the races.

It is profitless to discuss here which of them has been chiefly responsible for the disturbances whose recital occupies so large a space upon the pages of our history.

We have to deal with the appalling fact that though thousands of lives have been sacrificed and hundreds of millions of dollars expended in the attempt to solve the Indian problem, it has until within the past few years seemed scarcely nearer a solution than it was half a century ago. But the Government has of late been cautiously but steadily

feeling its way to the adoption of a policy which has already produced gratifying results, and which, in my judgment, is likely, if Congress and the Executive accord in its support, to relieve us ere long from the difficulties which have hitherto beset us.

For the success of the efforts now making to introduce among the Indians the customs and pursuits of civilized life and gradually to absorb them into the mass of our citizens, sharing their rights and holden to their responsibilities, there is imperative need for legislative action.

My suggestions in that regard will be chiefly such as have been already called to the attention of Congress and have received to some extent its consideration.

First. I recommend the passage of an act making the laws of the various States and Territories applicable to the Indian reservations within their borders and extending the laws of the State of Arkansas to the portion of the Indian Territory not occupied by the Five Civilized Tribes.

The Indian should receive the protection of the law. He should be allowed to maintain in court his rights of person and property. He has repeatedly begged for this privilege. Its exercise would be very valuable to him in his progress toward civilization.

Second. Of even greater importance is a measure which has been frequently recommended by my predecessors in office, and in furtherance of which several bills have been from time to time introduced in both Houses of Congress. The enactment of a general law permitting the allotment in severalty, to such Indians, at least, as desire it, of a reasonable quantity of land secured to them by patent, and for their own protection made inalienable for twenty or twenty-five years, is demanded for their present welfare and their permanent advancement.

In return for such considerate action on the part of the Government, there is reason to believe that the Indians in large numbers would be persuaded to sever their tribal relations and to engage at once in agricultural pursuits. Many of them realize the fact that their hunting days are over and that it is now for their best interests to conform their manner of life to the new order of things. By no greater inducement than the assurance of permanent title to the soil can they be led to engage in the occupation of tilling it.

The well-attested reports of the their increasing interest in husbandry justify the hope and belief that the enactment of such a statute as I recommend would be at once attended with gratifying results. A resort to the allotment system would have a direct and powerful influence in dissolving the tribal bond, which is so prominent a feature of savage life, and which tends so strongly to perpetuate it.

Third. I advise a liberal appropriation for the support of Indian schools, because of my confident belief that such a course is consistent with the wisest economy. . .

Guided Reading Questions:

1. What problems did Arthur identify regarding the U.S. government and the Native Americans?
2. What solutions did Arthur offer to remedy the situation?
3. Who did Arthur blame, if anyone, for the state of U.S./Native American relations?
4. What is the tone of his speech?
5. How did Arthur view Native Americans?
6. What can we learn from this speech?

Name:

Date:

Class:

The Dawes Act

By 1890, no Indian people anywhere in the West lived freely on their own land – and even the reservations on which they struggled to survive were being broken up under the Dawes Act of 1887. Through this act Government officials had hoped that life on reservations would force American Indians to become farmers and adopt the lifestyles of non-Indian settlers. The Dawes Act required that Indian lands be surveyed and that American Indian families receive an allotment of 160 acres of reservation land for farming. Any land that remained would be sold.

Be it enacted, that in all cases where any tribe or band of Indians has been or hereafter be, located upon any reservation created for their use, either by treaty stipulation or by virtue of an act of Congress or executive order setting apart the land for their use, the President of the United States be and he hereby is, authorized whenever in his opinion any reservation or any part thereof of such Indians is advantageous for agricultural and grazing purposed to cause said reservation, part thereof, to be surveyed or resurveyed if necessary, and to allot the lands reservations to any Indian located thereon in quantities.

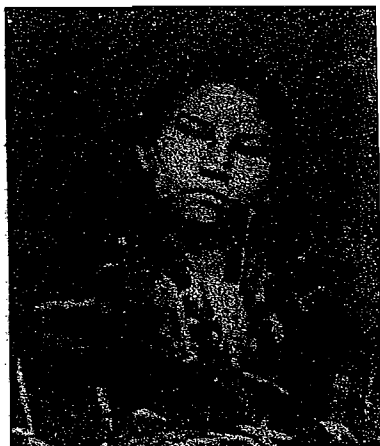
The Indian Rights Association claimed that private ownership of land would lead to “the gradual breaking up of the reservations.” This assessment proved correct, in less than 50 years, they lost two thirds of their land. Some of the land was sold to settlers and developers as surplus when allotments were made. In other cases, Indians sold or were cheated out of their allotments. Furthermore, despite the government’s hope, many American Indians rejected farming.

EXTENSION ACTIVITY 3

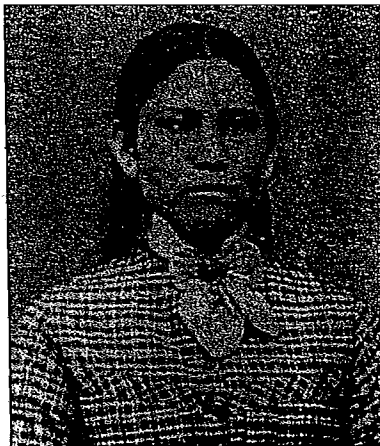
Before-and-After Photographs

Primary Sources: U.S. Army Military History Institute; Hampton University Archives

One of the first surprises awaiting Native American students at boarding school was the transformation of their appearance. Uniforms replaced their traditional clothing, which had distinguished them from members of other tribes as well as from white people. Many students (especially boys) were forced to have their hair cut short. The first set of photographs below shows Ziewie, a 15-year-old Sioux, upon her arrival at the Hampton Institute in 1878 and then four months later. The second set records a similar transformation in the appearance of Tom Torlino, a young Navajo, over the course of three years at the Carlisle Indian School.



Ziewie, a Sioux from the Crow Creek Agency



Four months after Ziewie's arrival at the Hampton Institute



Tom Torlino, a Navajo, upon his arrival at Carlisle Indian School



Torlino, at Carlisle three years later

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

1. What do you think was the main goal of the school administrators who had students change their appearance so radically? Do you think the goal was achieved?
2. What do you think were the advantages and the disadvantages of the dress codes at boarding schools of Native Americans?
3. How do you think the changes in the appearance of the boarding-school students affected the way they thought of themselves?

DOCUMENTS

Rules for Indian Schools, 1890

General Rules

39. The Sabbath must be properly observed. There shall be a Sabbath school or some other suitable service every Sunday, which pupils shall be required to attend. The superintendent may require employés to attend and participate in all the above exercises; but any employé declining as a matter of conscience shall be excused from attending and participating in any or all religious exercises. . . .

41. All instruction must be in the English language. Pupils must be compelled to converse with each other in English, and should be properly rebuked or punished for persistent violation of this rule. Every effort should be made to encourage them to abandon their tribal language. To facilitate this work it is essential that all school employés be able to speak English fluently, and that they speak English exclusively to the pupils, and also to each other in the presence of pupils.

42. Instruction in music must be given at all schools. Singing should be a part of the exercises of each school session, and wherever practicable instruction in instrumental music should be given.

43. Except in cases of emergency, pupils shall not be removed from school either by their parents or others, nor shall they be transferred from a Government to a private school without special authority from the Indian Office.

44. The school buildings should be furnished throughout with plain, inexpensive, but substantial furniture. Dormitories or lavatories should be so supplied with necessary toilet articles, such as soap, towels, mirrors, combs, hair, shoe, nail, and tooth brushes, and wisp brooms, as to enable the pupils to form exact habits of personal neatness.

45. Good and healthful provisions must be supplied in abundance; and they must well cooked and properly placed on the table. A regular bill of fare for each day of the week should be prepared and followed. Meals must be served regularly and neatly. Pains should be taken not only to have the food healthful and the table attractive, but to have the bill of fare varied. The school farm and dairy should furnish an ample supply of vegetables, fruits, milk, butter, cottage cheese, curds, eggs, and poultry. Coffee and tea should be furnished sparingly; milk is preferable to either, and children can be taught to use it. Pupils must be required to attend meals promptly after proper attention to toilet, and at least one employé must be in the dining room during each meal to supervise the table manners of

SOURCE: U.S. Bureau of Indian Affairs, "Rules for Indian Schools," *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1890* (Washington, D.C., 1890), cxlvi, cl-clii.

the pupils and to see that all leave the table at the same time and in good order. . . .

47. So far as practicable, a uniform style of clothing for the school should be adopted. Two plain, substantial suits, with extra pair of trousers for each boy, and three neat, well-made dresses for each girl, if kept mended, ought to suffice for week-day wear for one year. For Sunday wear each pupil should be furnished a better suit. The pupils should also be supplied with underwear adapted to the climate, with night clothes, and with handkerchiefs, and, if the climate requires it, with overcoats and cloaks and with overshoes.

48. The buildings, outhouses, fences, and walks should at all times be kept in thorough repair. Where practicable, the grounds should be ornamented with trees, grass, and flowers.

49. There should be a flag staff at every school, and the American flag should be hoisted, in suitable weather, in the morning and lowered at sunset daily.

50. Special hours should be allotted for recreation. Provision should be made for outdoor sports, and the pupils should be encouraged in daily healthful exercise under the eye of a school employé; simple games should also be devised for indoor amusement. They should be taught the sports and games enjoyed by white youth, such as baseball, hopscotch, croquet, marbles, bean bags, dominoes, checkers, logomachy, and other word and letter games, and the use of dissected maps, etc. The girls should be instructed in simple fancy work, knitting, netting, crocheting, different kinds of embroidery, etc.

51. Separate play grounds, as well as sitting rooms, must be assigned the boys and the girls. In play and in work, as far as possible, and in all places except the school room and at meals, they must be kept entirely apart. It should be so arranged, however, that at stated times, under suitable supervision, they may enjoy each other's society; and such occasions should be used to teach them to show each other due respect and consideration, to behave without restraint, but without familiarity, and to acquire habits of politeness, refinement, and self-possession. . . .

53. Corporal punishment must be resorted to only in cases of grave violations of rules, and in no instances shall any person inflict it except under the direction of the superintendent, to whom all serious questions of discipline must be referred. * Employés may correct pupils for slight misdemeanors only.

*In some of the more advanced schools it will be practicable and advisable to have material offenses arbitrated by a school court composed of the advanced students, with school employés added to such court in very aggravated cases. After due investigation, the amount of guilt should be determined and the quantity of punishment fixed by the court, but the approval of the superintendent shall be necessary before the punishment is inflicted, and the superintendent may modify or remit but may not increase the sentence.

54. Any pupil twelve years of age or over, guilty of persistently using profane or obscene language; of lewd conduct; stubborn insubordination, lying; fighting; wanton destruction of property; theft; or similar misbehavior, may be punished by the superintendent either by inflicting corporal punishment or imprisonment in the guardhouse, but in no case shall any unusual or cruel or degrading punishment be permitted. . . .

Industrial Work

56. A regular and efficient system of industrial training must be a part of the work of each school. At least half of the time of each boy and girl should be devoted thereto—the work to be of such character that they may be able to apply the knowledge and experience gained, in the locality where they may be expected to reside after leaving school. In pushing forward the school-room training of these boys and girls, teachers, and especially superintendents, must not lose sight of the great necessity for fitting their charges for the every-day life of their after years.

57. A farm and garden, if practicable an orchard also, must be connected with each school, and especial attention must be given to instruction in farming, gardening, dairying, and fruit growing.

58. Every school should have horses, cattle, swine, and poultry, and when practicable, sheep and bees, which the pupils should be taught to care for properly. The boys should look after the stock and milk the cows, and the girls should see to the poultry and the milk.

59. The farm, garden, stock, dairy, kitchen, and shops should be so managed as to make the school as nearly self-sustaining as practicable, not only because Government resources should be as wisely and carefully utilized as private resources would be, but also because thrift and economy are among the most valuable lessons which can be taught Indians. Waste in any department must not be tolerated.

60. The blacksmith, wheelwright, carpenter, shoemaker, and harness maker trades, being of the most general application, should be taught to a few pupils at every school. Where such mechanics are not provided for,] the school pupils should, so far as practicable, receive instruction from the agency mechanics.

61. The girls must be systematically trained in every branch of house-keeping and in dairy work; be taught to cut, make, and mend garments for both men and women; and also be taught to nurse and care for the sick. They must be regularly detailed to assist the cook in preparing the food and the laundress in washing and ironing.

62. Special effort must be made to instruct Indian youth in the use and care of tools and implements. They must learn to keep them in order, protect them properly, and use them carefully.

the social forces which have developed themselves slowly and at great expense of time and life in our American race and our American system of government shall be made to help in the uplifting of the Indians and to shorten that interval of time which of necessity must elapse between savagery and Christian civilization.

A Recent View of Native Americans, 1978

Findings—Education

The Minnesota Advisory Committee to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights finds that:

1. Virtually no progress has been made to reduce the Indian dropout rate since the Minnesota Advisory Committee first examined this issue in 1974. The dropout rate of Indian students continues to be significantly higher than for students of other races. While Indians constituted 5.3 percent of total enrollments in 1976, they accounted for almost 10 percent of all dropouts in the Minneapolis public schools.
2. According to certain indicators of educational participation, Indians receive a better education when they attend schools with a concentration of Indian students than when they are a small minority within the school. Indians attending schools with a concentration of Indian students have a lower dropout rate and are less likely to be assigned to special education classes than Indian students in general within the Minneapolis public schools.
3. While public school officials are generally supportive of alternative Indian schools, some believe that encouraging such schools within the public school system would constitute a violation of State and Federal civil rights laws.
4. Alternative Indian education programs operated or assisted by public school districts do not violate Federal civil rights laws, provided such programs are open to students of all racial and ethnic backgrounds and are not restricted to Indian students. This conclusion is supported by the attorney for the Midwestern Regional Office of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights and also by a former Acting Director of HEW's [Department of Health, Education, and Welfare] Office for Civil Rights.

SOURCE: Minnesota Advisory Committee to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, *Bridging the Gap: A Reassessment*, January 1978, 22-23.

5. Little progress has been made towards incorporating Indian studies into the curriculum in most public schools.
6. Both public and private Indian alternative schools lack adequate data to assess their educational programs.
 - a. All schools lack follow-up information on students who have graduated, which is necessary to evaluate the marketability of the schools' diplomas and how that marketability varies by sex and ethnic group.
 - b. All private Indian alternative schools and some public schools lack data on graduation and dropout rates.

Recommendations—Education

1. The Minnesota Advisory Committee recommends to the Minneapolis and St. Paul public school systems that they establish alternative Indian education programs at both the elementary and secondary levels.
 - a. Indian educators should be centrally involved in developing the program, Indian administrators should have key administrative positions, and Indian teachers should be well represented on the faculty.
 - b. Such programs should be open to students of all racial and ethnic backgrounds in order to be in full compliance with Federal civil rights requirements.
 - c. Officials must ensure that the alternative Indian education programs do not become a first step towards more exclusionary and discriminatory practices, whereby minorities and women become restricted to racially or sexually identifiable educational programs. The establishment of alternative Indian education programs must in no way hinder the effectiveness of Federal and State civil rights efforts to guarantee equal educational opportunity for all individuals.
3. The Minnesota Advisory Committee recommends to the State board of education that it establish a policy whereby all students in Minnesota schools will be able to take Indian studies as part of their course of study.
 - a. The State board of education should instruct local school districts that this is the policy and should provide all possible assistance to ensure that it is carried out.
 - b. Indian studies should be included in the regular curriculum. They should not be treated simply as extracurricular activities available to students before or after normal school hours.
4. The Minnesota Advisory Committee recommends to the Minneapolis and St. Paul public schools and to the private Indian alternative schools

that they do a more complete assessment of their educational programs by:

- a. Developing procedures for more accurately measuring the dropout rate of Indian students;
- b. Conducting follow-up studies that would enable them to determine the activities (e.g., college, work, military service) of former students, at least for the first year upon leaving school;
- c. Maintaining records of the number and percentage of its students who graduate, drop out, or transfer to another school, by race and sex; and
- d. Conducting any other research deemed appropriate to obtain an objective assessment of their educational programs.

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"Rules for Indian Schools" Bureau of Indian Affairs (1890)

1. What attitudes toward their mission and toward Native Americans youth would likely be engendered in the minds of the teachers upon reading their instructions?
2. In what ways does each of the cited contribute to the broad objectives of the governments Indian education policies?
3. What can you conclude about the immediate and long-term objectives of Indian education?
4. In regards to the findings & recommendations of the Minnesota Advisory Committee (1978), what does it reveal about the recent status of Native American schooling and about attitudes toward Indians and their culture?

Section II: Big Business and Labor

The Gilded Age: A Nation Transformed & An Age of Extremes

“As we view the achievement of aggregated (totaled) capital, we discover the existence of trusts, combinations and monopolies, while the citizen is struggling far in the rear or is trampled to death beneath an iron heel. Corporations, which should be the carefully restrained creatures of the law and servants of that people are fast becoming the people’s masters.”

-President Grover Cleveland, 1888

Reflect:

What is President Cleveland describing in this quote? What is the “iron heel?”

Overview:

In our previous unit, we explored the settlement of the American West during the 1800’s until the US Government declared the frontier officially closed in 1890. What was happening to the rest of the nation during this time period? There were profound changes that transformed the United States from an agrarian country to one of the leading industrial powers in the world. In 1880, for the first time in United States history, farmers were no longer the majority of working Americans. (That is why the traditional descriptions of typical American as a farmer doesn’t make sense to us today!) America’s future became tied to its development as an industrial society. As President Cleveland noted in the above quote, such a shift was not without its difficulties. The Gilded Age, as this time period is called, was known for its extremes in behavior and wealth. The nation searched for its identity among the swirl of differing forces.

Essential Questions:

- **What qualities make this era the “Gilded Age”?**
- **What is the relationship between the federal government, business and citizens during this period?**
- **What factors fueled the growth of the post Civil War economy and allowed for the emergence of monopolies?**
- **Why was there a need for government regulation in industry?**
- **The Great industrialist: Robber Barons or Captains of Industry?**
- **How did ideas of Social Darwinism and the Gospel of Wealthy defend the disparities in wealth in the United States?**

ROBBER BARONS AND REBELS

In the year 1877, the signals were given for the rest of the century: the black would be put back; the strikes of white workers would not be tolerated; the industrial and political elites of North and South would take hold of the country and organize the greatest march of economic growth in human history. They would do it with the aid of, and at the expense of, black labor, white labor, Chinese labor, European immigrant labor, female labor, rewarding them differently by race, sex, national origin, and social class, in such a way as to create separate levels of oppression—a skillful terracing to stabilize the pyramid of wealth.

Between the Civil War and 1900, steam and electricity replaced human muscle, iron replaced wood, and steel replaced iron (before the Bessemer process, iron was hardened into steel at the rate of 3 to 5 tons a day; now the same amount could be processed in 15 minutes). Machines could now drive steel tools. Oil could lubricate machines and light homes, streets, factories. People and goods could move by railroad, propelled by steam along steel rails; by 1900 there were 193,000 miles of railroad. The telephone, the typewriter, and the adding machine speeded up the work of business.

Machines changed farming. Before the Civil War it took 61 hours of labor to produce an acre of wheat. By 1900, it took 3 hours, 19 minutes. Manufactured ice enabled the transport of food over long distances, and the industry of meatpacking was born.

Steam drove textile mill spindles; it drove sewing machines. It came from coal. Pneumatic drills now drilled deeper into the earth for coal. In 1860, 14 million tons of coal were mined; by 1884 it was 100 million tons. More coal meant more steel, because coal furnaces converted iron

into steel; by 1880 a million tons of steel were being produced; by 1910 25 million tons. By now electricity was beginning to replace steam. Electrical wire needed copper, of which 30,000 tons were produced in 1880; 500,000 tons by 1910.

To accomplish all this required ingenious inventors of new processes and new machines, clever organizers and administrators of the new corporations, a country rich with land and minerals, and a huge supply of human beings to do the back-breaking, unhealthful, and dangerous work. Immigrants would come from Europe and China, to make the new labor force. Farmers unable to buy the new machinery or pay the new railroad rates would move to the cities. Between 1860 and 1914 New York grew from 850,000 to 4 million, Chicago from 110,000 to 2 million, Philadelphia from 650,000 to 1½ million.

In some cases the inventor himself became the organizer of businesses—like Thomas Edison, inventor of electrical devices. In other cases, the businessman compiled other people's inventions. In 1885 Gustavus Swift, a Chicago butcher who put together the ice-cooled railway car with the ice-cooled warehouse to make the first national meat-packing company in 1885. James Duke used a new cigarette-rolling machine that could roll, paste, and cut tubes of tobacco into 100,000 cigarettes a day; in 1890 he combined the four biggest cigarette producers to form the American Tobacco Company.

While some multimillionaires started in poverty, most did not. A study of the origins of 303 textile, railroad, and steel executives of the 1870s showed that 90 percent came from middle- or upper-class families. The Horatio Alger stories of "rags to riches" were true for a few men, but mostly a myth, and a useful myth for control.

Most of the fortune building was done legally, with the collaboration of the government and the courts. Sometimes the collaboration had to be paid for. Thomas Edison promised New Jersey politicians \$1,000 each in return for favorable legislation. Daniel Drew and Jay Gould spent \$1 million to bribe the New York legislature to legalize their issue of \$8 million in "watered stock" (stock not representing real value) on the Erie Railroad.

The first transcontinental railroad was built with blood, sweat, politics and thievery, out of the meeting of the Union Pacific and Central Pacific railroads. The Central Pacific started on the West Coast, going east; it spent \$200,000 in Washington on bribes to get 9 million acres of free land and \$24 million in bonds, and paid \$79 million, an overpayment of \$36 million, to a construction company which really was its own. The construction was done by three thousand Irish and ten thousand Chinese, over a period of four years, working for one or two dollars a day.

The Union Pacific started in Nebraska going west. It had been given 12 million acres of free land and \$27 million in government bonds. It treated the Credit Mobilier company and gave them \$94 million for construction when the actual cost was \$44 million. Shares were sold cheaply to Congressmen to prevent investigation. This was at the suggestion of Massachusetts Congressman Oakes Ames, a shovel manufacturer and director of Credit Mobilier, who said: "There is no difficulty in getting men to look after their own property." The Union Pacific used twenty thousand workers—war veterans and Irish immigrants, who had 5 miles of track a day and died by the hundreds in the heat, the cold, and the battles with Indians opposing the invasion of their territory.

Both railroads used longer, twisting routes to get subsidies from towns they went through. In 1869, amid music and speeches, the two hooked lines met in Utah.

The wild fraud on the railroads led to more control of railroad finances by bankers, who wanted more stability—profit by law rather than by theft. By the 1890s, most of the country's railway mileage was concentrated in six huge systems. Four of these were completely or partially controlled by the House of Morgan, and two others by the bankers Kuhn, Loeb, and Company.

J. P. Morgan had started before the war, as the son of a banker who began selling stocks for the railroads for good commissions. During the Civil War he bought five thousand rifles for \$3.50 each from an army arsenal, and sold them to a general in the field for \$22 each. The rifles were defective and would shoot off the thumbs of the soldiers using them. A congressional committee noted this in the small print of an obscure report, but a federal judge upheld the deal as the fulfillment of a legal contract.

Morgan had escaped military service in the Civil War by paying \$300 to a substitute. So did John D. Rockefeller, Andrew Carnegie, Philip Armour, Jay Gould, and James Mellon. Mellon's father had written to him that "a man may be a patriot without risking his own life or sacrificing his health. There are plenty of lives less valuable."

It was the firm of Drexel, Morgan and Company that was given a U.S. government contract to float a bond issue of \$260 million. The government could have sold the bonds directly; it chose to pay the bankers \$5 million in commission.

On January 2, 1889, as Gustavus Myers reports:

"Circular marked 'Private and Confidential' was issued by the three banking houses of Drexel, Morgan & Company, Brown Brothers &

Company, and Kidder, Peabody & Company. The most painstaking care was exercised that this document should not find its way into the press or otherwise become public. . . . Why this fear? Because the circular was an invitation . . . to the great railroad magnates to assemble at Morgan's house, No. 219 Madison Avenue, there to form, in the phrase of the day, an iron-clad combination. . . . a compact which would efface competition among certain railroads, and unite those interests in an agreement by which the people of the United States would be bled even more effectively than before.

There was a human cost to this exciting story of financial ingenuity. That year, 1889, records of the Interstate Commerce Commission showed that 22,000 railroad workers were killed or injured.

In 1895 the gold reserve of the United States was depleted, while twenty-six New York City banks had \$129 million in gold in their vaults. A syndicate of bankers headed by J. P. Morgan & Company, August Belmont & Company, the National City Bank, and others offered to give the government gold in exchange for bonds. President Grover Cleveland agreed. The bankers immediately resold the bonds at high prices, making \$18 million profit.

A journalist wrote: "If a man wants to buy beef, he must go to the butcher. . . . If Mr. Cleveland wants much gold, he must go to the banker."

While making his fortune, Morgan brought rationality and organization to the national economy. He kept the system stable. He said, "We do not want financial convulsions and have one thing one day and another thing another day." He linked railroads to one another, all of them to banks, banks to insurance companies. By 1900, he controlled 100,000 miles of railroad, half the country's mileage.

Three insurance companies dominated by the Morgan group had a billion dollars in assets. They had \$50 million a year to invest—money given by ordinary people for their insurance policies. Louis Brandeis, describing this in his book *Other People's Money* (before he became a Supreme Court justice), wrote: "They control the people through the people's own money."

John D. Rockefeller started as a bookkeeper in Cleveland, became a merchant, accumulated money, and decided that, in the new industry of oil, who controlled the oil refineries controlled the industry. He bought his first oil refinery in 1862, and by 1870 set up Standard Oil Company of Ohio, made secret agreements with railroads to ship his oil with a discount if they gave him rebates—discounts—on their prices, and thus drove competitors out of business.

One independent refiner said: "If we did not sell out . . . we would be crushed out. . . . There was only one buyer on the market and we had to sell at their terms." Memos like this one passed among Standard Oil officials: "Wilkinson & Co. received car of oil Monday 13th. . . . Please turn another screw." A rival refinery in Buffalo was rocked by a small explosion arranged by Standard Oil officials with the refinery's chief mechanic.

The Standard Oil Company, by 1899, was a holding company which controlled the stock of many other companies. The capital was \$110 million, the profit was \$45 million a year, and John D. Rockefeller's fortune was estimated at \$200 million. Before long he would move into iron, copper, coal, shipping, and banking (Chase Manhattan Bank). Profits would be \$81 million a year, and the Rockefeller fortune would total two billion dollars.

Andrew Carnegie was a telegraph clerk at seventeen, then secretary to the head of the Pennsylvania Railroad, then broker in Wall Street selling railroad bonds for huge commissions, and was soon a millionaire. He went to London in 1872, saw the new Bessemer method of producing steel, and returned to the United States to build a million-dollar steel plant. Foreign competition was kept out by a high tariff conveniently set by Congress, and by 1880 Carnegie was producing 10,000 tons of steel a month, making \$1½ million a year in profit. By 1900 he was making \$40 million a year, and that year, at a dinner party, he agreed to sell his steel company to J. P. Morgan. He scribbled the price on a note: \$492,000,000.

Morgan then formed the U.S. Steel Corporation, combining Carnegie's corporation with others. He sold stocks and bonds for \$4300,000,000 (about 400 million more than the combined worth of the companies) and took a fee of 150 million for arranging the consolidation. How could dividends be paid to all those stockholders and bondholders? By making sure Congress passed tariffs keeping out foreign steel; by closing off competition and maintaining the price at \$28 a ton; and by working 200,000 men twelve hours a day for wages that barely kept their families alive.

And so it went, in industry after industry—shrewd, efficient businessmen building empires, choking out competition, maintaining high prices, keeping wages low, using government subsidies. These industries were the first beneficiaries of the "welfare state." By the turn of the century, American Telephone and Telegraph had a monopoly of the nation's telephone system, International Harvester made 85 percent of all farm machinery, and in every other industry resources became concentrated,

controlled. The banks had interests in so many of these monopolies as to create an interlocking network of powerful corporation directors each of whom sat on the boards of many other corporations. According to a Senate report of the early twentieth century, Morgan at his peak sat on the board of forty-eight corporations; Rockefeller, thirty-seven corporations.

...while the ...

Class:

- Howard Zinn, 1999

Please read pages 253-258 of this chapter and answer the following question thoughtfully. As you are reading please think about if Zinn might have a bias or an agenda.

1. What examples does Zinn provide of the changing American environment between the Civil War and 1900? (253)

2. How was all this development accomplished? (254)

3. What was the result of fraud in the building of the transcontinental railroad? (255)

4. How did J.P. Morgan bring rationality/organization to the national economy?(256)

5. What did John D. Rockefeller realize about oil? What did he do as a result? (256-257)

6. How was the government involved in the growth of these industries (JP Morgan, Rockefeller, Carnegie)? (255-257)

7. Describe the cycle Zinn lays out at the bottom of pg 257.

8. What does it mean to have a monopoly on something?

The Novels of Horatio Alger

A young boy, perhaps an orphan, makes his perilous way through life on the rough streets of the city by selling newspapers or peddling matches. One day, his energy and determination catches the eye of a wealthy man, who gives him a chance to improve himself. Through honesty, charm, hard work, and aggressiveness, the boy rises in the world to become a successful man.

That, in a nutshell, is the story that Horatio Alger presented to his vast public in novel after novel—over 100 of them in all—for over forty years. During his lifetime, according to rough estimates, Americans bought over 100 million copies of his novels. After his death in 1899, his books (and others written in his name) continued to sell at an astonishing rate. Even today, when the books themselves are largely forgotten, the name Horatio Alger has come to represent the idea of individual advancement through (in a phrase Alger coined) “pluck and luck.”

Alger was born in 1832 into a middle-class New England family, attended Harvard, and spent a short time as a Unitarian minister. He himself never experienced the hardships he later chronicled. In the mid-1850s, he turned to writing stories and books, and continued to do so for the rest of his life. His most famous novel, *Ragged Dick*, was published in 1868; but there were many others that were almost identical to it: *Tom, the Bootblack*; *Sink or Swim*; *Jed, the Poorhouse Boy*; *Phil, the Fiddler*; *Andy Grant's Pluck*. Most of his books were aimed at young people, and almost all of them were fables of a young man's rise “from rags to riches.” The purpose of his writing, he claimed, was twofold. He wanted to “exert a salutary influence upon the class of whom [I] was writing, by setting before them inspiring examples of what energy, ambi-



A NEWSBOY'S STORY Alger's novels were even more popular after his death in 1899 than they had been in his lifetime. This reprint of one of his many “rags-to-riches” stories—about the rise of a New York newsboy to wealth and success—includes in the background a rendering of the “Met Life Building,” an early skyscraper built in 1909.

tion, and an honest purpose may achieve.” He also wanted to show his largely middle-class readers “the life and experiences of the friendless and vagrant children to be found in all our cities.”

But Alger's intentions probably had little to do with the success of his books. Most Americans of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were attracted to Alger because his stories helped them to believe in one of the most cherished of all their national myths: that it is possible for individuals to rise in the world with willpower and hard work, that anyone can become a “self-made man.” That belief was all the more important in the late nineteenth

century when the rise of large-scale corporate industrialization was making it increasingly difficult for individuals to control their own fates.

Alger placed great emphasis on the moral qualities of his heroes; their success was a reward for their virtue. But many of his readers ignored the moral message and clung simply to the image of sudden and dramatic success. After the author's death, his publishers responded to that yearning by abridging many of Alger's works to eliminate the parts of his stories where the heroes do good deeds. Instead, they emphasized the success of Alger's heroes in rising in the world.

Alger himself had very mixed feelings about the new industrial order he described. His books were meant to reveal not just the opportunities for advancement it sometimes created, but also its cruelty. That was one reason that in almost all his books, his heroes triumphed not just because of their own virtues or efforts, but because of some amazing stroke of luck. To Alger, at least, the modern age did not guarantee success through hard work alone; there had to be some providential assistance as well. Over time, however, Alger's admirers came to ignore his own misgivings about industrialism and to portray his books purely as celebrations of (and justifications for) laissez-faire capitalism and the accumulation of wealth.

An example of the transformation of Alger into a symbol of individual achievement is the Horatio Alger Award, established in 1947 by the American Schools and Colleges Association to honor “living individuals who by their own efforts had pulled themselves up by their bootstraps in the American tradition.” Among its recipients have been Presidents Dwight D. Eisenhower and Ronald Reagan, Evangelist Billy Graham, and Supreme Court Justice Clarence Thomas.

and schools, institutions he believed would help the poor to help themselves.

The notion of private wealth as a public blessing existed alongside another popular concept: the notion of great wealth as something available to all. Russell H. Conwell,

a Baptist minister, became the most prominent spokesman for the idea by delivering one lecture, “Acres of Diamonds,” more than 6,000 times between 1880 and 1900. Conwell told a series of stories, which he claimed were true, of

Russell Conwell

Berenson (Tallivi)
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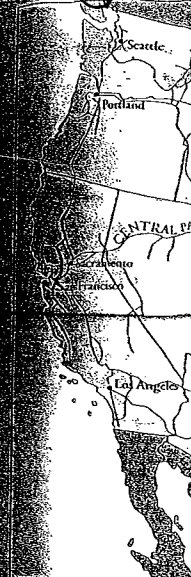
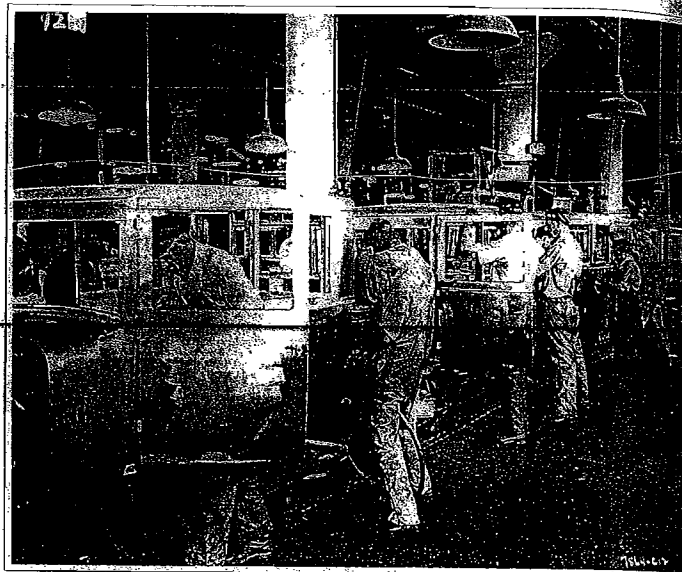
AFTER SEVENTEEN

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From - Alan Brinkley - America's
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RAILROADS IN OPERATION
By 1870
By 1890

RAILROADS, 1870-1890
network of rail lines in the U.S.
between 1870 and 1890, mirroring
economic growth in these years.

For an interactive version, visit www.eric.org

the path by which agricultural and industrial
s developed. When a railroad line ran through
populated region, new farms and other eco-
vity quickly sprang up along the route. When
I forests, lumberers came quickly in its wake
n felling timber to send back to towns and
sale. When it moved through the great plains
st, it brought buffalo hunters who nearly exter-
he great herds of bison and, later, helped trans-
e into the region and carry western meat back
cities. Because Chicago was the principal rail-
of the central United States, it also became the
ere railroads brought livestock, making the city
lterhouse of the nation. Everywhere the rail-
t, the economic, social, and physical landscape
untry changed as a result.

ds even altered concepts of time. Until the
ere was no standard method of keeping time
community to another. In most places, the posi-
ic sun determined the time, which meant that
ere set differently even between relatively
wns. This created great difficulties for railroads,
re trying to set schedules for the entire nation.
nber 18, 1883, the railroad companies, working
agreed to create four time zones across the con-
ch an hour apart from its closest neighbor.
not until 1918 did the federal government make
e zones standard for all purposes, the action by
ads very quickly solidified the idea of "standard
ugh most of the United States.

decade in the late nineteenth century, total rail-
age increased dramatically: from 30,000 miles in

1860 to 52,000 miles in 1870, to
93,000 in 1880, to 163,000 in
1890, and to 193,000 by 1900.

Rapid Expansion of the Railroad

Subsidies from federal, state, and local governments—as
well as investments from abroad—were vital to these vast
undertakings, which required far more capital than private
entrepreneurs in America could raise by themselves.
Equally important was the emergence of great railroad
combinations that brought most of the nation's rails under
the control of a very few men. Many railroad combina-
tions continued to be dominated by individuals. The
achievements (and excesses) of these tycoons—Cornelius
Vanderbilt, James J. Hill, Collis P. Huntington, and others—
became symbols to much of the nation of great economic
power concentrated in individual hands. But railroad
development was less significant for the individual barons
it created than for its contribution to the growth of a new
institution: the modern corporation.

The Corporation

There had been various forms of corporations in America
since colonial times, but the modern corporation emerged
as a major force only after the Civil War, when railroad
magnates and other industrialists realized that no single
person or group of limited partners, no matter how
wealthy, could finance their great ventures.

Under the laws of incorporation passed in many states
in the 1830s and 1840s, business organizations could
raise money by selling stock to members of the public.
After the Civil War, one industry after another began
doing so. At the same time, affluent Americans began to

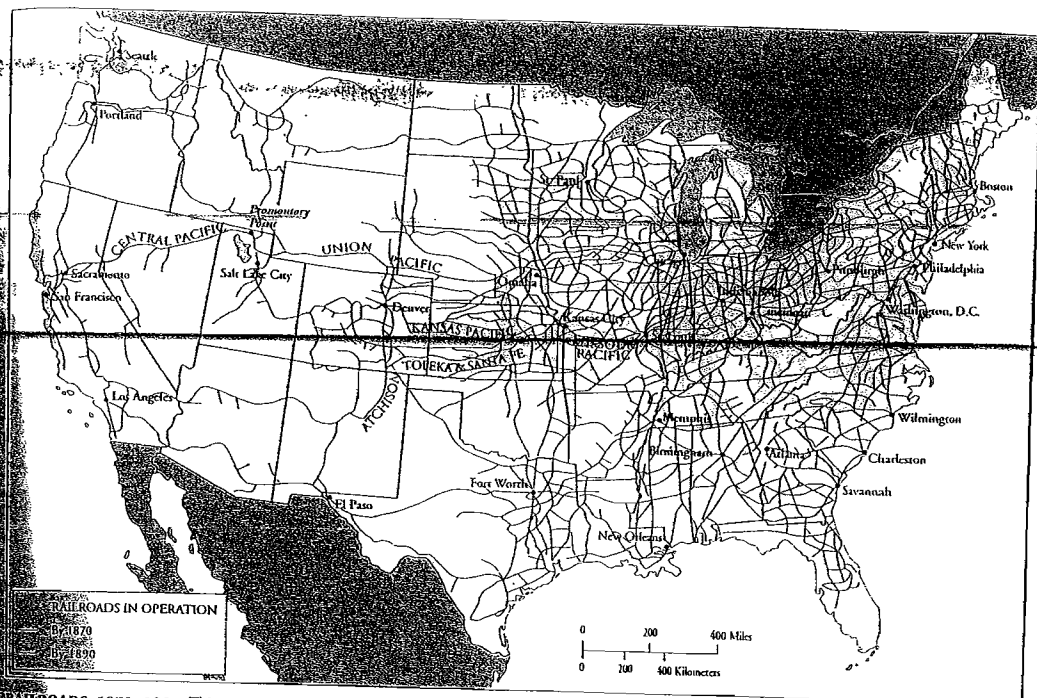
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Limited Liability

ments; they were not I
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The Pennsylvania R
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Andrew Carnegie

who had worked his
and in 1873 opened
soon he dominated
much like those of o
and prices by striking
bought out rivals who
his associate Henry C



RAILROADS, 1870-1890 This map illustrates the rapid expansion of railroads in the late nineteenth century. In 1870, there was already a dense network of rail lines in the Northeast and Middle West, illustrated here by the red lines. The green lines show the further expansion of rail coverage between 1870 and 1890, much of it in the South and the areas west of the Mississippi River. • Why were railroads so essential to the nation's economic growth in these years?

For an interactive version of this map go to www.mhhe.com/brinkley12ch17maps

consider the purchase of stock a good investment even if they were not themselves involved in the business whose stock they were purchasing. What made the practice appealing was that investors had only "limited liability"—that is, they risked only the amount of their investment. They were not liable for any debts the corporation might accumulate beyond that. The ability to sell stock to a broad public made it possible for entrepreneurs to gather vast sums of capital and undertake great projects. The Pennsylvania Railroad and others were among the first to adopt the new corporate form of organization. It quickly spread beyond the railroad industry. In steel,

the central figure was Andrew Carnegie, a Scottish immigrant who worked his way up from modest beginnings. In 1873, he opened his own steelworks in Pittsburgh. Carnegie dominated the industry. His methods were far more efficient than those of other industrial titans. He cut costs by striking deals with the railroads and then forcing his rivals who could not compete with him. With the help of Henry Clay Frick, he bought up coal mines

and leased part of the Mesabi iron range in Minnesota, operated a fleet of ore ships on the Great Lakes, and acquired railroads. Ultimately, Carnegie controlled the processing of his steel from mine to market. He financed his undertakings not only out of his own profits but out of the sale of stock. Then, in 1901, he sold out for \$450 million to the banker J. Pierpont Morgan, who merged the Carnegie interests with others to create the giant United States Steel Corporation—a \$1.4 billion enterprise that controlled almost two-thirds of the nation's steel production.

There were similar developments in other industries. Gustavus Swift developed a relatively small Chicago meatpacking company into a great national corporation, in part because of profits he earned selling to the military in the Civil War. Isaac Singer patented a sewing machine in 1851 and created I. M. Singer and Company, one of the first modern manufacturing corporations.

Many of the corporate organizations developed a new approach to management. Large, national business enterprises needed more systematic administrative structures than the limited, local ventures of the past.



ANDREW CARNEGIE Carnegie was one of a relatively small number of great industrialists of the late nineteenth century who genuinely rose "from rags to riches." Born in Scotland, he came to the United States in 1848, at the age of thirteen, and soon found work as a messenger in a Pittsburgh telegraph office. His skill in learning to transcribe telegraphic messages (he became one of the first telegraphers in the country able to take messages by sound) brought him to the attention of a Pennsylvania Railroad official, and before he was twenty, he had begun his ascent to the highest ranks of industry. After the Civil War, he shifted his attention to the growing iron industry; in 1873 he invested all his assets in the development of the first American steel mills. Two decades later he was one of the wealthiest men in the world. In 1901 he abruptly resigned from his businesses and spent the remaining years of his life as a philanthropist. By the time of his death in 1919, he had given away some \$350 million. (Culver Pictures, Inc.)

New Managerial Techniques

As a result, corporate leaders introduced a set of managerial techniques—the genesis of modern business administration—that relied on the division of responsibilities, a carefully designed hierarchy of control, modern cost-accounting procedures, and



JOHN D. ROCKEFELLER Rockefeller's Standard Oil company became perhaps the largest and most powerful monopoly in America in the late nineteenth century, and Rockefeller himself became one of the nation's wealthiest and most controversial men. (Culver Pictures, Inc.)

perhaps above all a new breed of business executive: the "middle manager," who formed a layer of command between workers and owners. Beginning in the railroad corporations, these new management techniques moved quickly into virtually every area of large-scale industry. Efficient administrative capabilities helped make possible another major feature of the modern corporation: consolidation.

Consolidating Corporate America

Businessmen created large, consolidated organizations primarily through two methods. One was "horizontal integration"—the combining of a number of firms engaged in the same enterprise into a single corporation. The consolidation of many different railroad lines into one company was an example. Another method, which became popular in the 1890s, was "vertical integration"—the taking over of all the different businesses on which a company relied for its primary function (as in the case of Carnegie Steel).

Horizontal and Vertical Integration

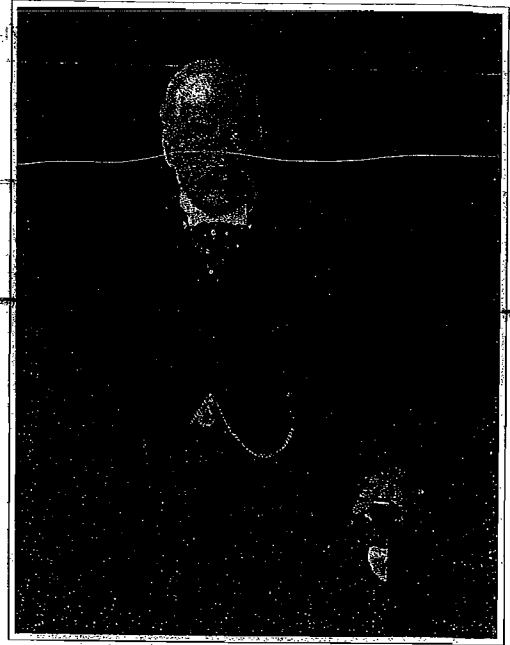
The most celebrated corporate empire of the late nineteenth century was John D. Rockefeller's Standard Oil. This great combination created through both horizontal and vertical integration. Shortly after the Civil War, Rockefeller launched a refining company in Cleveland and immediately began trying to eliminate his competition. Allying himself with other wealthy capitalists, he proceeded methodically to buy out competing refineries. In 1870, he formed the Standard Oil Company in Ohio; within a few years it had acquired twenty of the twenty-five refineries in Cleveland, as well as plants in Pittsburgh, Philadelphia, New York, and Baltimore. So far, Rockefeller had expanded only horizontally. But soon he began expanding vertically as well. He built his own barrel factories, terminal warehouses, and pipelines. Standard Oil owned its own freight cars and developed its own marketing organization. By the 1880s, Rockefeller had established such dominance within the petroleum industry that to much of the nation he served as the leading symbol of monopoly. He controlled access to 90 percent of the refined oil in the United States.

Rockefeller and other industrialists saw consolidation as a way to cope with what they believed was the greatest curse of the modern economy: "cutthroat competition." Most businessmen claimed to believe in free enterprise and a competitive marketplace, but in fact they feared the existence of too many competing firms, convinced that substantial competition could spell instability and ruin for all. A successful enterprise, many capitalists believed (but did not say publicly), was one that could eliminate or absorb its competitors.

As the movement toward combination accelerated, new vehicles emerged to facilitate it. The railroads began making so-called pool arrangements—informal agreements among various companies to stabilize rates and divide markets (arrangements that would in later years be known as cartels). But the pools did not work very well. If even a few firms in an industry were unwilling to cooperate (as was almost always the case), the pool arrangements collapsed.

The Trust and the Holding Company

The failure of the pools led to new techniques of consolidation resting less on cooperation than on centralized control. At first, the most successful such technique was the creation of the "trust"—pioneered by Standard Oil in the early 1880s and perfected by the banker J. P. Morgan. Over time, the word "trust" became a term for any great economic combination. But the trust was in fact a particular kind of organization. Under a trust agreement, stockholders in individual corporations transferred their stocks to a small group of trustees in exchange for shares in the trust itself. Owners of trust certificates



J. PIERPONT MORGAN This arresting 1903 portrait by the great photographer Alfred Steichen captures something of the intimidating power of J. Pierpont Morgan, the most powerful financier in America. This photograph is sometimes known as the "dagger portrait," because Morgan appears to be holding a knife in his left hand. In fact, the shiny object is the arm of his chair. (The Museum of Modern Art/Licensed by SCALA/Art Resource, NY)

often had no direct control over the decisions of the trustees; they simply received a share of the profits of the combination. The trustees themselves, on the other hand, might literally own only a few companies but could exercise effective control over many.

In 1889, the state of New Jersey helped produce a third form of consolidation by changing its laws of incorporation to permit companies actually to buy up other companies. Other states soon followed. That made the trust unnecessary and permitted actual corporate mergers. Rockefeller, for example, quickly relocated Standard Oil to New Jersey and created there what became known as a "holding company"—a central corporate body that would buy up the stock of various members of the Standard Oil trust and establish direct, formal ownership of the corporations in the trust.

By the end of the nineteenth century, as a result of corporate consolidation, 1 percent of the corporations in America were able to control more than 33 percent of the manufacturing. A system of economic organization was emerging that lodged enormous

Rapid Corporate Consolidation

power in the hands of a very few men: the great bankers of New York such as J. P. Morgan, industrial titans such as Rockefeller (who himself gained control of a major bank), and others.

Whether or not this relentless concentration of economic power was the only way or the best way to promote industrial expansion became a major source of debate in America. But it is clear that, whatever else they may have done, the industrial giants of the era were responsible for substantial economic growth. They were integrating operations, cutting costs, creating a great industrial infrastructure, stimulating new markets, creating jobs for a vast new pool of unskilled workers, and opening the way to large-scale mass production. They were also creating the basis for some of the greatest public controversies of their era.

*** STOP ***

CAPITALISM AND ITS CRITICS

The rise of big business was not without its critics. Farmers and workers saw in the growth of the new corporate power centers a threat to notions of a republican society in which wealth and authority were widely distributed. Middle-class critics pointed to the corruption that the new industrial titans seemed to produce in their own enterprises and in local, state, and national politics. The growing criticisms challenged the captains of industry to defend the new corporate economy, to convince the public (and themselves) that it was compatible with the ideology of individualism and equal opportunity that had long been central to the American self-image.

The "Self-Made Man"

The rationale for modern capitalism rested squarely on the older ideology of individualism. The new industrial economy, its defenders argued, was not reducing opportunities for individual advancement, but expanding them. It was providing every individual with a chance to succeed and attain great wealth.

There was an element of truth in such claims, but only a small one. Before the Civil War there had been few millionaires in America; by 1892 there were more than 4,000. Some were in fact what almost all millionaires claimed to be: "self-made men." Andrew Carnegie had worked as a bobbin boy in a Pittsburgh cotton mill; John D. Rockefeller had begun as a clerk in a Cleveland commission house; E. H. Harriman, a great railroad tycoon, had begun as a broker's office boy. But most of the new business tycoons had begun their careers from positions of wealth and privilege.

Nor was their rise to power and prominence always a result simply of hard work and ingenuity, as they liked to claim. It was also a result of ruthlessness, arrogance, and, at times, rampant corruption. The railroad magnate



"MODERN COLOSSUS OF (RAIL) ROADS" Known as the "Commodore," accumulated one fortune by consolidating several large railroad companies and gained control in the 1860s. His name became a synonym for enormous wealth, but also (in the eyes of many corporate power—as suggested in this cartoon) for striding his empire and manipulating its parts.

Cornelius Vanderbilt expressed the attitude of corporate tycoons with his belligerent "I care about the law? Haint I got the son William, with his oft-quoted statement, "damned." Industrialists made large gifts to politicians, political parties, and for exchange for assistance and support. Not politicians responded as they hoped. Standard Oil did everything to the oil industry. A member of the Pennsylvania Railroad reportedly said: "Mr. Speaker, I move that the Pennsylvania Railroad has more business." During the notorious "Erie War" Cornelius Vanderbilt battled Jay Gould for control of the Erie Railroad, both offering lavish bribes to members of the legislature. The market price of legislation was \$15,000 a head. One enterprising

NEW WAYS OF DOING BUSINESS

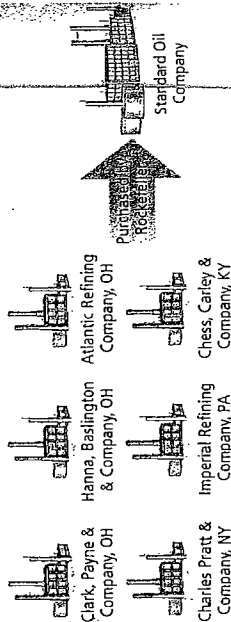
The rise of the Standard Oil Company marked the beginning of a brand new way of building and conducting business in America. Many, though not all, of John D. Rockefeller's business practices at Standard Oil are part of mainstream corporate culture in the U.S. today. In 1904, journalist Ida Tarbell wrote, "It was the first in the field, and it has furnished the methods, the charter, and the traditions of its followers." Believing that a mix of small and large companies produced chaos and instability in prices and supplies, Rockefeller pioneered new techniques for organizing the oil industry to create a more stable and seamless business environment.

Through creativity and hard work, Rockefeller rose from a modest background to become the world's first billionaire. From his first paycheck he gave 10 percent of his earnings to his church. By the time he died, he had given away hundreds of millions of dollars.

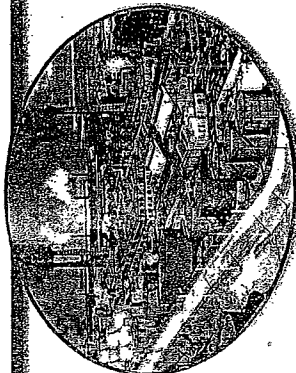


HORIZONTAL INTEGRATION

Rockefeller bought up rival businesses in Ohio, Pennsylvania, and New York to gain more control of the oil-refining industry. One of Rockefeller's harshest critics led protests against the growing power of Standard Oil—only to take a job there years later.



▲ Standard Oil became a dominant symbol of the bustling American economy. At its height, the company controlled 90 percent of the nation's oil industry.



Why It Matters

Rockefeller's methods—from advertising (below) to buying out competitors—changed the American business climate. In turn, big business transformed American society itself in the twentieth century, becoming the accepted mean for the nation to conduct its business and produce and sell its goods. It also ushered in the globalization that would become the striking characteristic of twenty-first century life.



Following in Rockefeller's footsteps, Microsoft's Bill Gates carries the torch of modern business leadership. While praised for his philanthropy, he has also been criticized for monopolistic techniques—just as Rockefeller was.



Thinking Critically
In the late 1800s, people debated the impact of corporations, call their leaders either "robber barons" or "captains of industry." Are such debates still relevant today?

History Interactive
For: More about big business
Web Code: ncp-1320



Conquer the Market

http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/amex/rockefellers/sfeature/sf_2.html

OBJECT:

Congratulations! Due to your reputation as a ruthless and skilled negotiator, you have been selected as J.D. Rockefeller's business manager. J.D.R. has hired you to create a monopoly for Standard Oil by purchasing all your competitors' companies. But your task isn't easy – to win you must gain control of 100% of oil production. Good Luck!

DETAILS:

- Your allotted working capital is \$100,000.
- At the start of the game, your company controls 24% of production.
- To learn about a company, open its file.
- You can make an offer on a company from within the profile or by selecting "make an offer" on the main screen.
- You have THREE chances to make an acceptable bid for a company. After the 3rd underbid, the company will no longer accept any offers and you must start over!
- You can select from 5 different tactics to lower a company's selling price. Depending on which tactic you chose, it can decrease the selling price anywhere from 10% to 40%.
- You can use each tactic only once, so make your selections carefully. Use the profile information to help you make your decisions.

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VI. THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE BUSINESSMAN



If American businessmen at times employed harsh methods in accumulating wealth and expanding their industry, they justified their behavior by proclaiming, philosophically, that they operated in accordance with the laws of God and nature. The remaining vestiges of an old-time Puritanism in the American mind which had accustomed religious people to look for a sign of God's grace came to their aid. According to this belief the Creator, in His infinite wisdom, guided the fortunes of mankind according to His own mysterious design, favoring a few with wealth and the multitude with the miseries of poverty. Wealth was a sign of God's benevolence—an indication that He had smiled upon that particular person or class. Envy of the fortunate might prompt protest, but this was an expression of depraved, evil blasphemy to be properly denounced from the pulpit.

Selected from a wide choice of evidence, one incident in the career of John D. Rockefeller spotlights this widely accepted doctrine. When a religious conference received an announcement of the initial check from Rockefeller for the establishment of a university at Chicago, its members rose and in unison sang "Praise God from Whom All Blessings Flow."¹ Shortly thereafter the multimillionaire explained his benevolence with, "The good Lord gave me the money, and how could I withhold it from Chicago?"²

The theory of classical economics asserting that an economy operates according to natural economic laws likewise gave broad intellectual support to the businessman. It was a faith that a national economy functions smoothly, resulting in equilibrium, only when the mechanical laws of nature are allowed to work

¹ Allan Nevins, *John D. Rockefeller* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1940), II, p. 228.
² *Ibid.*, p. 258.

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The American Scene: 1860 to the Present

freely without the interference of outside artificial forces. Laws such as freedom of contract, supply and demand, diminishing returns, among others, operate favorably for the creation of national prosperity, not by the Christian laying on of hands, but by hands off—"laissez-faire."

The philosophy of Social Darwinism, unfolded in a series of volumes by Herbert Spencer, also offered scientific justification for the businessman's favorable position in society. In the biological world a species is selected by nature for survival because it possesses superior physical qualities which allow it to adapt successfully to the trying conditions of the environment. This theory, transferred to the economic world, asserted that the wealthy businessman had secured his favorable position, not by sculduggery, but by having those qualities which allowed him to emerge victoriously in the struggle of the market place. These sterling qualities were perseverance, hard work, good judgment, grit and stick-to-itiveness. "Work and save if you will win the battle of life" was their motto. On the other hand, the poor were supposedly shiftless, lazy and complaining, could not follow orders and, when they received a dollar, instead of saving it for investment capital, spent it to gratify a capricious desire—usually in some saloon. The poverty of the poor, according to this philosophy, was the natural condition of those who, because of unfitness, failed in the struggle.

Social Darwinism became the respectable philosophy of this generation. Frederick A. P. Barnard, president of Columbia University, evaluated Spencer as the greatest philosopher since Aristotle. Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes Jr., however, was so exasperated because these ideas so thoroughly controlled the thinking of his colleagues that he admonished them in the dissenting opinion in *Lochner v. New York* (1905), saying that "the Fourteenth Amendment does not enact Mr. Herbert Spencer's *Social Statics*."

How Big Businessmen Justified Their Acts

One of the important books of the nineteenth century was Charles Darwin's *The Origin of Species*. This work described all life as a struggle in which only the fittest individuals managed to survive. The result was a process of natural selection of the best specimens and a gradual evolution of creatures into more successful organisms. This view of animals fighting each other for a limited food supply had a great impact on the thinking of nineteenth-century businessmen.

Today we do not approve of John D. Rockefeller's forcing his competitors out of business by getting secret rebates from the railroad. In his day, however, businessmen saw this activity as a part of the natural struggle for survival. The world of business was like the jungle: if a man did not fight, he would be crushed. Only the strongest or swiftest stayed alive — or in the case of businessmen — only the shrewdest or toughest ended up millionaires. It is important to understand this point of view in order to see the post-Civil War years in clear perspective. It explains how the Rockefellers, the Carnegies, the Morgans, and the Vanderbilts could put together their economic empires ruthlessly but with clear consciences.

In the following brief selections we have quoted two statements arguing this position. The first is from Andrew Carnegie's "The Gospel of Wealth" (1889). Carnegie began as a Scottish immigrant and rose to be a fabulously wealthy steel manufacturer.

~~~~~

THE price which society pays for the law of competition, like the price it pays for cheap comforts and luxuries, is also great; but the advantages of this law are also greater still, for it is to this law that we owe our wonderful material development, which brings improved conditions in its train. But, whether the law be benign or not, we must say of it, as we say of the change in the conditions of men to which we have referred: It is here; we cannot evade it; no substitutes for it have been found; and while the law may be sometimes hard for the individual, it is best for the race, because it insures the survival of the fittest in every department. We accept and welcome, therefore, as conditions to which we must accommodate ourselves, great inequality of environment, the concentration of business, industrial and commercial, in the hands of a few, and the law of competition between these, as being not only beneficial, but essential for the future progress of the race. Having accepted these, it follows that there must be great scope for the exercise of special ability in the merchant and in the manufacturer who has to conduct affairs upon a great scale. ¶¶

The next statement is by William Graham Sumner, a professor of economics at Yale, who wrote about 1880:

~~~~~

PRIVATE property . . . produces inequalities between men. The struggle for existence is aimed against nature. It is from her niggardly hand that we have to wrest the satisfactions for our needs, but our fellow-men are our competitors for the meager supply. Competition, therefore, is a law of nature. Nature is entirely neutral; she submits to him who most energetically and resolutely assails her. She grants her rewards to the fittest, therefore, without regard to other considerations of any kind. If, then, there be liberty, men get from her just in proportion to their works, and their having and enjoying are just in proportion to their being and their doing. Such is the system of nature. If we do not like it, and if we try to amend it, there is only one way in which we can do it. We can take from the better and give to the worse. We can deflect the penalties of those who have done ill and throw them on those who have done better. We can take the rewards from those who have done better and give them to those who have done worse. We shall thus lessen the inequalities. We shall favor the survival of the unfittest, and we shall accomplish this by destroying liberty. Let it be understood that we cannot go outside of this alternative: liberty, inequality, survival of the fittest; not-liberty, equality, survival of the unfittest. The former carries society forward and favors all its best members; the latter carries society downwards and favors all its worst members. ¶¶

A FEW VERY WEALTHY PEOPLE

John J. Ingalls, U.S. senator from Kansas, gave the following speech to the Senate, January 14, 1891:

There are in the United States two hundred persons who have an aggregate of more than \$20,000,000 each. . . . Four hundred persons possess \$10,000,000 each, 1,000 persons \$5,000,000 each, 2,000 persons \$2,500,000 each, 6,000 persons \$1,000,000 each, and 15,000 persons \$500,000 each, making a total of 31,000 people who possess \$36,250,000,000.

Mr. President, it is the most appalling statement that ever fell upon moral ears. It is, so far as the results of democracy as a social and political experiment are concerned, the most terrible commentary that ever was recorded in the book of time. . . .

Our population is 62,500,000 and by some means . . . less than a two thousandth part of our population have obtained possession, and have kept out of the penitentiary in spite of the means they have adopted to acquire it, of more than one half of the entire accumulated wealth of the country.

It has been chiefly acquired by men who have contributed little to the material welfare of the country, [but] . . . by the wrecking of the fortunes of innocent men, women, and children; by jugglery, by book-keeping, by financiering, by . . . speculations, —and this process is going on with frightful and constant accelerating rapidity.

What conditions exist?	Why is this a problem?
What is the cause of the problem?	What are some possible solutions?
If nothing is done, what will happen?	What solution do you recommend? What are the likely consequences?

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[Back to Modern History SourceBook](#)

Modern History Sourcebook: Andrew Carnegie: The Gospel of Wealth, 1889

Andrew Carnegie (1835-1919) was a massively successful business man - his wealth was based on the provision of iron and steel to the railways, but also a man who recalled his radical roots in Scotland before his immigration to the United States. To resolve what might seem to be contradictions between the creation of wealth, which he saw as proceeding from immutable social laws, and social provision he came up with the notion of the "gospel of wealth". He lived up to his word, and gave away his fortune to socially beneficial projects, most famously by funding libraries. His approval of death taxes might surprise modern billionaires!

The problem of our age is the administration of wealth, so that the ties of brotherhood may still bind together the rich and poor in harmonious relationship. The conditions of human life have not only been changed, but revolutionized, within the past few hundred years. In former days there was little difference between the dwelling, dress, food, and environment of the chief and those of his retainers. . . The contrast between the palace of the millionaire and the cottage of the laborer with us today measures the change which has come with civilization.

This change, however, is not to be deplored, but welcomed as highly beneficial. It is well, nay, essential for the progress of the race, that the houses of some should be homes for all that is highest and best in literature and the arts, and for all the refinements of civilization, rather than that none should be so. Much better this great irregularity than universal squalor. Without wealth there can be no Maecenas [Note: a rich Roman patron of the arts]. The "good old times" were not good old times. Neither master nor servant was as well situated then as to day. A relapse to old conditions would be disastrous to both-not the least so to him who serves-and would sweep away civilization with it....

...

We start, then, with a condition of affairs under which the best interests of the race are promoted, but which inevitably gives wealth to the few. Thus far, accepting conditions as they exist, the situation can be surveyed and pronounced good. The question then arises-and, if the foregoing be correct, it is the only question with which we have to deal-What is the proper mode of administering wealth after the laws upon which civilization is founded have thrown it into the hands of the few? And it is of this great question that I believe I offer the true solution. It will be understood that fortunes are here spoken of, not moderate sums saved by many years of effort, the returns from which are required for the comfortable maintenance and education of families. This is not wealth, but only competence, which it should be the aim of all to acquire.

There are but three modes in which surplus wealth can be disposed of. It can be left to the families of

the decedents; or it can be bequeathed for public purposes; or, finally, it can be administered during their lives by its possessors. Under the first and second modes most of the wealth of the world that has reached the few has hitherto been applied. Let us in turn consider each of these modes. The first is the most injudicious. In monarchial countries, the estates and the greatest portion of the wealth are left to the first son, that the vanity of the parent may be gratified by the thought that his name and title are to descend to succeeding generations unimpaired. The condition of this class in Europe today teaches the futility of such hopes or ambitions. The successors have become impoverished through their follies or from the fall in the value of land.... Why should men leave great fortunes to their children? If this is done from affection, is it not misguided affection? Observation teaches that, generally speaking, it is not well for the children that they should be so burdened. Neither is it well for the state. Beyond providing for the wife and daughters moderate sources of income, and very moderate allowances indeed, if any, for the sons, men may well hesitate, for it is no longer questionable that great sums bequeathed oftener work more for the injury than for the good of the recipients. Wise men will soon conclude that, for the best interests of the members of their families and of the state, such bequests are an improper use of their means.

...

As to the second mode, that of leaving wealth at death for public uses, it may be said that this is only a means for the disposal of wealth, provided a man is content to wait until he is dead before it becomes of much good in the world.... The cases are not few in which the real object sought by the testator is not attained, nor are they few in which his real wishes are thwarted....

The growing disposition to tax more and more heavily large estates left at death is a cheering indication of the growth of a salutary change in public opinion.... Of all forms of taxation, this seems the wisest. Men who continue hoarding great sums all their lives, the proper use of which for public ends would work good to the community, should be made to feel that the community, in the form of the state, cannot thus be deprived of its proper share. By taxing estates heavily at death, the state marks its condemnation of the selfish millionaire's unworthy life.

... This policy would work powerfully to induce the rich man to attend to the administration of wealth during his life, which is the end that society should always have in view, as being that by far most fruitful for the people....

There remains, then, only one mode of using great fortunes: but in this way we have the true antidote for the temporary unequal distribution of wealth, the reconciliation of the rich and the poor—a reign of harmony—another ideal, differing, indeed from that of the Communist in requiring only the further evolution of existing conditions, not the total overthrow of our civilization. It is founded upon the present most intense individualism, and the race is prepared to put it in practice by degrees whenever it pleases. Under its sway we shall have an ideal state, in which the surplus wealth of the few will become, in the best sense, the property of the many, because administered for the common good, and this wealth, passing through the hands of the few, can be made a much more potent force for the elevation of our race than if it had been distributed in small sums to the people themselves. Even the poorest can be made to see this, and to agree that great sums gathered by some of their fellowcitizens and spent for public purposes, from which the masses reap the principal benefit, are more valuable to them than if scattered among them through the course of many years in trifling amounts.

...

This, then, is held to be the duty of the man of Wealth: First, to set an example of modest, unostentatious living, shunning display or extravagance; to provide moderately for the legitimate wants of those dependent upon him; and after doing so to consider all surplus revenues which come to him simply as trust funds, which he is called upon to administer, and strictly bound as a matter of duty to administer in the manner which, in his judgment, is best calculated to produce the most beneficial result for the community-the man of wealth thus becoming the sole agent and trustee for his poorer brethren, bringing to their service his superior wisdom, experience, and ability to administer-doing for them better than they would or could do for themselves.

Andrew Carnegie, "Wealth," *North American Review*, 148, no. 391 (June 1889): 653, 65762.

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halsall@murray.fordham.edu

Answer the following on a
SPOP -

1. What do you believe motivated Andrew Carnegie to write "The Gospel of Wealth"?
2. What obligations did Carnegie believe the wealthy had to society?

Labor Organization in the Gilded Age Handout E

Task:

You will be assigned one of the below labor unions. You will be conducting outside research to gain knowledge on your assigned union or movement to be used in class. You will get the information from the Junior Thesis Wiki.

Junior Thesis Wiki URL:

<http://whsresearch.wikispaces.com/Junior+Thesis#toc5>

1. National Labor Union
2. Knights of Labor
3. American Federation of Labor
4. Industrial Workers of the World

1. Each group is required to get at least three *different* sources from two different databases under the heading “resources for background information” and at least two *different* sources under the heading “primary sources.” (For a total of 5 sources/group)
2. Read and annotate your sources and bring them with you to class.

Labor Unions of the Gilded Age

Union	Key Figure	Key Ideas	Motto
National Labor Union			
Knights of Labor			
American Federation of Labor			
Industrial Workers of the World			

Name:

US32
Berenson/Tallevi

The Richest Man in the World: Andrew Carnegie
WGBH: The American Experience

1. Carnegie saw the promise of America realized in:
2. How did workers feel about this vision?
3. What was Andrew Carnegie's published position on the rights of labor?
4. What was the view of his partner, Henry Clay Frick?
5. Carnegie's views on labor were put to the test at his Edgar Thomson Works. Why?
6. How did Carnegie resolve this situation?
7. What did Carnegie give to the town of Braddock, PA - home to Edgar Thomson Steel works?
8. What was this library a "testimony" of?
9. At Homestead, the Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel workers was:
10. How did Henry Clay Frick handle the strike of workers in his coke plant?
11. Carnegie and Frick introduced modern machinery and technology at Homestead. What was the result of this?

How did this affect the union?

12. How workers and the Mayor of Homestead feel about Carnegie's power and wealth?

13. In the spring of 1892, what did Carnegie and Frick decide to do?

14. If Frick's terms were not accepted, what did Carnegie instruct him to do?

15. What did Frick do to begin the process to eliminate the union at Homestead?

16. While Carnegie was in Scotland, what did he "gamble" about the situation at Homestead?

17. After Frick locked out 1100 workers, what did he plan to do next?

18. How did the workers feel about the property of the steel mill?

19. Who were the Pinkerton guards? Why did Frick call them in?

20. What happened once the Pinkertons arrived at Homestead?

21. Who won the battle?

22. When the workers refused to surrender the mill to the sheriff, what happened?

23. What was the effect of the Homestead Strike on Carnegie?

24. What two desires was Carnegie torn between?

24. What was the effect of the Homestead Strike on the workers?

Using the S.I.G.H.T.[™] method, critically analyze the accompanying image

S.I.G.H.T.[™] → S scan for important details I identify the conflict or tension
G guess the creator's intent or message H hear the voices T talk or write about your observations

S scan for important details _____

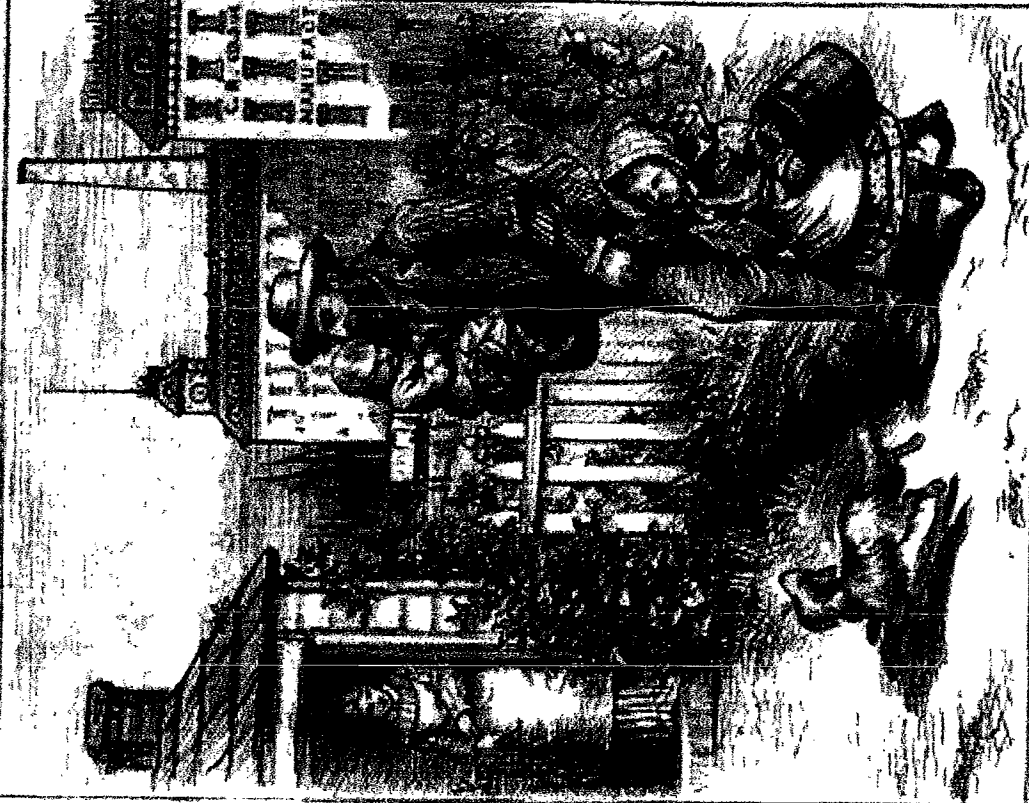
I identify the conflict or tension _____

G guess the creator's intent or message _____

H hear the voices _____

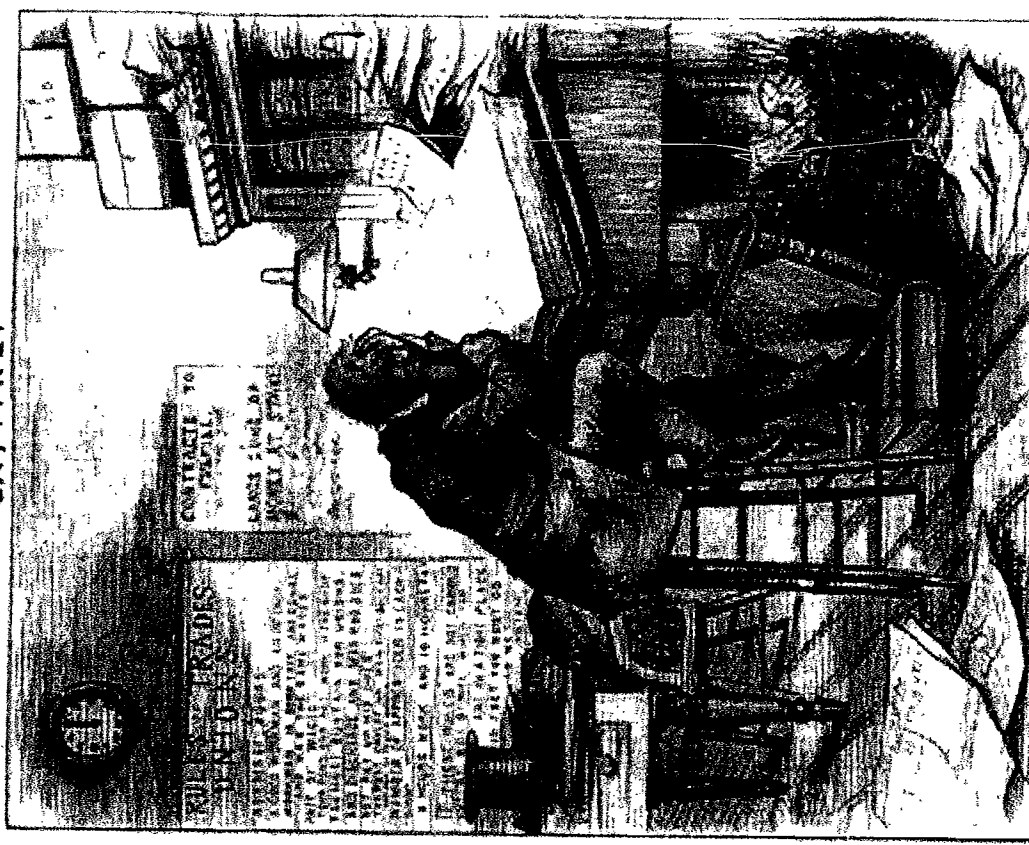
T talk or write about your observations _____

LABOR



"PUT YOURSELF IN
"CONTENT IS HARMLESS"

CAPITAL



"HIS PLACE."
"ALL IS NOT GOLD THAT GLITTERS"

A

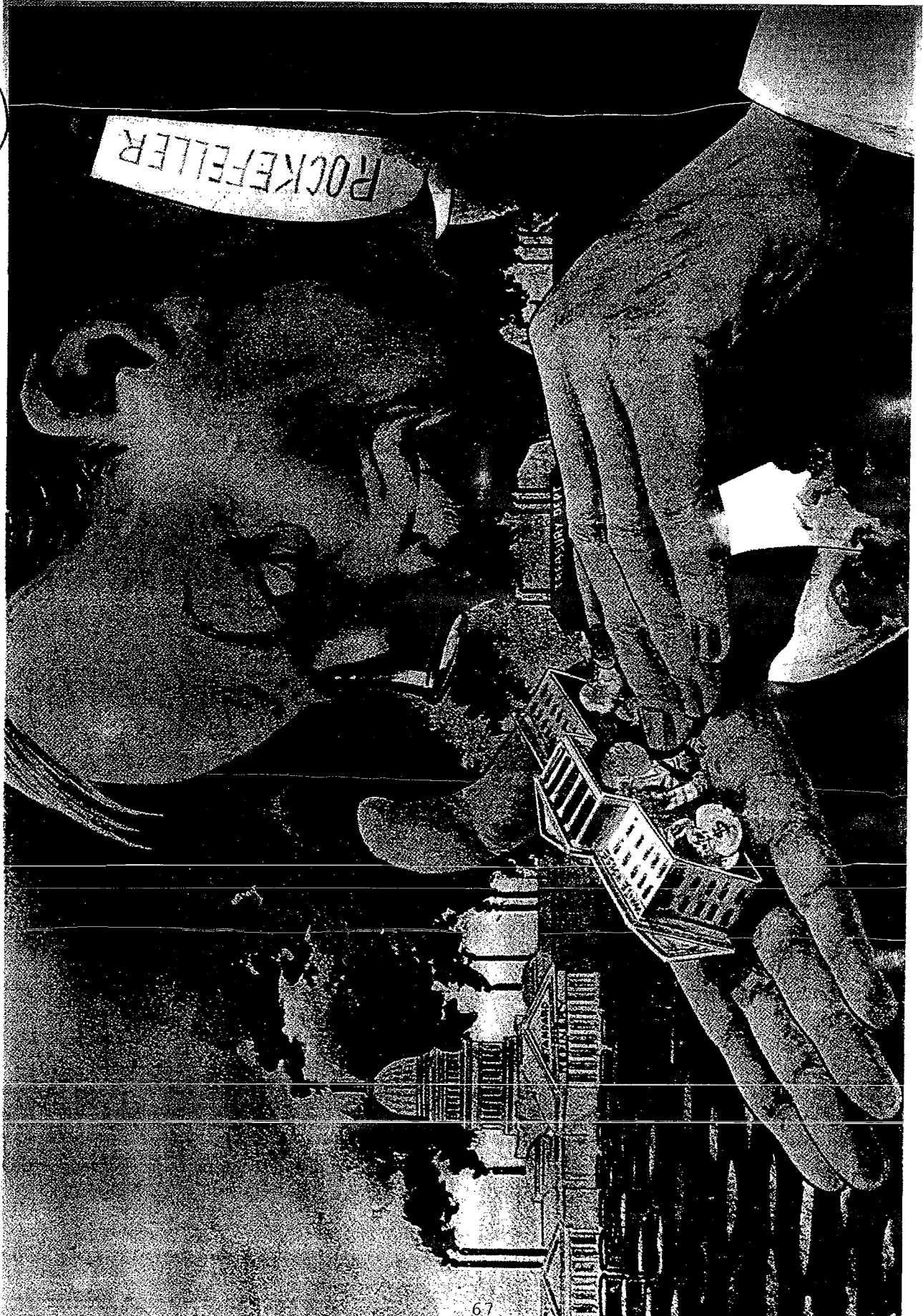
(B)



②



(D)



***Gospel of Wealth Reading &
PBS: The American Experience: The Richest Man in the
World: Andrew Carnegie***

Directions: Throughout the class period, please jot down examples of when Carnegie exhibits the behavior of a Captain of Industry or a Robber Barron.

<i>Captain of Industry</i>	<i>Robber Baron</i>

November 23, 2003

1/6

<http://www.latimes.com/business/la-fi-walmart23nov2303,1,1465953.story?ctrack=1&cset=true>
From the Los Angeles Times

First of Three Parts

An Empire Built on Bargains Remakes the Working World

Wal-Mart is so powerful that it moves the economies of entire countries, bringing profit and pain. The prices can't be beat, but the wages can.
By Abigail Goldman and Nancy Cleeland
Times Staff Writers

November 23, 2003

LAS VEGAS — Chastity Ferguson kept watch over four sleepy children late one Friday as she flipped a pack of corn dogs into a cart at her new favorite grocery store: Wal-Mart.

The Wal-Mart Supercenter, a pink stucco box twice as big as a Home Depot, combines a full-scale supermarket with the usual discount mega-store. For the 26-year-old Ferguson, the draw is simple.

"You can't beat the prices," said the hotel cashier, who makes \$400 a week. "I come here because it's cheap."

Across town, another mother also is familiar with the Supercenter's low prices. Kelly Gray, the chief breadwinner for five children, lost her job as a Raley's grocery clerk last December after Wal-Mart expanded into the supermarket business here. California-based Raley's closed all 18 of its stores in the area, laying off 1,400 workers.

Gray earned \$14.68 an hour with a pension and family health insurance. Wal-Mart grocery workers typically make less than \$9 an hour.

"It's like somebody came and broke into your home and took something huge and important away from you," said the 36-year-old. "I was scared. I cried. I shook."

Wal-Mart gives. And Wal-Mart takes away.

From a small-town five-and-dime, Wal-Mart Stores Inc. has grown over 50 years to become the world's largest corporation and a global economic force.

It posted \$245 billion in sales in its most recent fiscal year — nearly twice as much as General Electric Co. and almost eight times as much as Microsoft Corp. It is the nation's largest seller of toys, furniture, jewelry, dog food and scores of other consumer products. It is the largest grocer in the United States.

Wal-Mart's decisions influence wages and working conditions across a wide swath of the world economy, from the shopping centers of Las Vegas to the factories of Honduras and South Asia. Its business is so vital to developing countries that some send emissaries to the corporate headquarters in Bentonville, Ark., almost as if Wal-Mart were a sovereign nation.

The company has prospered by elevating one goal above all others: cutting prices relentlessly. U.S. economists say its tightfistedness has not only boosted its own bottom line, but also helped hold down the inflation rate for the entire country. Consumers reap the benefits every time they push a cart through Wal-Mart's checkout lines.

Yet Wal-Mart's astonishing success exacts a heavy price.

By squeezing suppliers to cut wholesale costs, the company has hastened the flight of U.S. manufacturing jobs overseas. By scouring the globe for the cheapest goods, it has driven factory jobs from one poor nation to another.

Wal-Mart's penny-pinching extends to its own 1.2 million U.S. employees, none of them unionized. By the company's own admission, a full-time worker might not be able to support a family on a Wal-Mart paycheck.

Then there are casualties like Kelly Gray. As Wal-Mart expands rapidly into groceries, it is causing upheaval in yet another corner of the economy. When a Supercenter moves into town, competitors often are wiped out, taking high-paying union jobs with them.

Wal-Mart's plans to enter the grocery business in California early next year have thrown the state's supermarket industry into turmoil. Fearful of Wal-Mart's ability to undercut them on price, the Ralphs, Vons and Albertsons chains have sought concessions from their unionized workers in Southern and Central California, leading to a work stoppage now entering its seventh week.

Half a century ago, the nation's largest and most emulated employer was General Motors Corp. "Today," said Nelson Lichtenstein, a history professor at UC Santa Barbara, "for better or worse, it's Wal-Mart."

GM brought prosperity to factory towns and made American workers the envy of the world. With a high-wage union job, an assembly-line worker could afford a house, a decent car, maybe even a boat by the lake.

There was a bit of truth, Lichtenstein said, to the famous assertion by Charles Wilson, General Motors chief from 1941 to 1953, that what was good for GM was good for the country.

With Wal-Mart, the calculus is considerably more complex.

'We Have Split Brains'

Glenn Mirafior used to chide his wife for shopping at Wal-Mart.

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As a member of Ironworkers Local 416, the 50-year-old father of four is well aware of the retailer's anti-union stance. But when the family's credit card debt topped \$10,000, Wal-Mart's deals suddenly looked irresistible.

"Where else are you going to find a computer for \$498?" he asked, looking for a PC with his wife, Debbie, at the Supercenter on Serene Avenue, far from the glitz of the Las Vegas Strip. "Everyone I work with shops here."

Surveys by the Teamsters and the United Food and Commercial Workers — the two unions most threatened by Wal-Mart — show that many of their own members shop at the discounter.

"We have split brains," said Robert Reich, U.S. secretary of Labor under President Clinton and now a professor of economic and social policy at Brandeis University in Waltham, Mass. "Most of the time, the half of our brain that wants the best deal prevails."

The connection may be lost on many, Reich said, but consumers' addiction to low prices is accelerating a shift toward a two-tiered U.S. economy, with a shrinking middle class and a growing pool of low-wage workers.

"Wal-Mart's prices may be lower," he said, "but that's small consolation to a lot of people who end up with less money to spend."

Others insist there is a net benefit whenever consumers can get more for less. "If you have lower real prices, you're saving money," said Arthur Laffer, a key advisor to President Reagan who is now an economic consultant in San Diego. "The prices' falling, in effect, raises the wages of everyone who buys their products."

That's basically the way the Miraflores saw it as they cruised the aisles of the Supercenter — Wal-Mart Store No. 2593 — and snapped up deals: Ragu pasta sauce for 89 cents, Aunt Jemima pancake mix for 48 cents, pork shoulder steaks for \$1.49 a pound and five cans of Del Monte vegetables for \$2.

After making their way through the groceries, the Miraflores turned their attention to the housewares section, stopping in front of a 20-inch box fan. Glenn Miraflores checked the price and made room for it in their cart.

"Ten bucks," he said. "You can't beat that. That's why we come here."

Vendors' Alley

The fan was made 1,700 miles away in Chicago at Lakewood Engineering & Manufacturing Co. A decade ago, the same fan carried a \$20 price tag.

But that wasn't low enough for Wal-Mart. So Lakewood owner Carl Krauss cut costs at every turn. He automated production at the red-brick factory built by his grandfather on the city's West Side. Where it once took 22 people to put together a product, it now takes seven. Krauss also badgered his suppliers to knock down their prices for parts.

In 2000, he took the hardest step of all: He opened a factory in Shenzhen, China, where workers earn 25 cents an hour, compared with \$13 in Chicago. About 40% of his products now are made in China, including most heaters and desktop fans. The Miraflores' box fan was assembled in Chicago, but its electronic guts were imported.

"My father was dead set against it," Krauss said of the move overseas. "I have the same respect for American workers, but I'm going to do what I have to do to survive."

Survival in an age when consumers are hyper-vigilant about prices means shaving expenses again and again. "Nobody wants to be on the shelf with the same item for \$1 more," Krauss said.

All the retailers he supplies — including Home Depot Inc. and Target Corp. — drive a hard bargain with manufacturers. But none is as tough as Wal-Mart, Krauss said.

Twice a year, his sales representatives travel to Wal-Mart headquarters to pitch their products. There, competitors sit side by side, waiting to be ushered into one of 60 glass-sided cubicles — a space some call Vendors' Alley.

Then the haggling begins. "You give them your price," Krauss said. "If they don't like it, they give you theirs."

The suppliers are at a disadvantage. The Wal-Mart buyer can always go out to the waiting room and find someone who will go lower. "Your price is going to be whittled down like you never thought possible," Krauss said.

After moving much of his manufacturing abroad, Krauss doesn't see any way to push costs lower. "If you're doing things legally, you can't," he said.

He may have to find a way.

At the Serene Avenue store, shopper Sarah Saxon, 17, pulled a \$40 Lakewood heater off the shelf. She looked it over, then put it back in favor of an AirTech model selling for \$34.88. She said it looked better than the Lakewood.

"Besides," she said, "it's cheaper."

Wal-Mart's culture of cheap emanates from Bentonville, a town of 20,000 tucked into the low green hills of northwest Arkansas, where a young Sam Walton opened his first five-and-dime in 1950. Even then, Walton had a vision of a different kind of retail.

Rather than charging a little less than his competitors, Walton wanted to slash prices as much as he could and still make a profit. Other stores would use price breaks from manufacturers as a way to boost their bottom lines, paying less at wholesale while leaving retail prices untouched.

Walton passed such savings on to his customers as his discount business evolved into Wal-Mart stores in 1962. He figured he would make up the difference in volume. He was right.

By the mid-1980s, Wal-Mart's success had catapulted Walton to No. 1 on the Forbes list of richest Americans. Still, he drove an old pickup truck to haul around his bird dogs, refused to fly first class and shared hotel rooms with colleagues on business trips.

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Bentonville, like the man who put it on the map, is a combination of Southern charm and Midwestern practicality. The town square is anchored by the original Walton's five-and-dime (now a visitors' center) and dotted with small shops. But the real action is down Business Route 71, where the Wal-Mart Supercenter rises up, big enough to fit three 747s with room to spare.

Across the street is the base of Wal-Mart operations: the Home Office. The world's biggest company occupies an industrial-looking hodgepodge of windowless work spaces, connected by bunker-like hallways. The drab gray-and-blue walls display the visage and sayings of Sam Walton, who died in 1992:

"Listen to your associates.... They're the best idea generators."

"To succeed, stay out in front of change."

"Swim upstream. Go the other way. Ignore the conventional wisdom."

Lists abound. The best-performing stores. The worst-performing stores. Under a picture of the founder asking, "Who's taking your customers?" is a roster of competing retailers, including Costco Wholesale Corp., Circuit City Stores Inc. and Target, with the name and picture of each company's chief executive.

It's all part of the Wal-Mart culture: a zealous attention to competition, customers and costs.

Wal-Mart employees, unlike their counterparts at other retailers, are forbidden to accept so much as a soda from vendors — or anybody else the company does business with — on the theory that such frills ultimately are paid for by consumers. The company's meticulous management of the flow of goods, from the factory floor to the store shelf, has shaved shipping and inventory costs to a degree that retailing experts say is unprecedented.

"You could argue that some of what Wal-Mart does to cut costs has been win-win," said Richard S. Tedlow, a professor of business administration at Harvard Business School. "What's being squeezed out is waste."

The company is so ruthlessly efficient that 4% of the growth in the U.S. economy's productivity from 1995 to 1999 was due to Wal-Mart alone, researchers at the McKinsey Global Institute estimated last year. No other single company had a measurable impact. Wal-Mart also has forced competitors to become more efficient, driving the nation's productivity — output per hour of work — even higher.

Walton, who still is referred to as Mr. Sam throughout the corporation, worked in a ground-floor office barely big enough for a conference table. The current occupant, Chief Executive H. Lee Scott Jr., is the keeper of Mr. Sam's vision. Like all Wal-Mart executives, he empties his own trash and shares budget hotel rooms when traveling. Everyone flies coach.

"We do not have limousines," said Scott, who certainly could afford one, having made nearly \$18 million last year in salary, bonus and stock, plus options with an estimated value of \$11.3 million. "I drive a Volkswagen Bug."

Wal-Mart's stinginess reaches from the executive suite to the loading dock.

Some truckers complain that they must unload their own cargo — or pay Wal-Mart to do it. Other big retail chains absorb that cost themselves. "They're awful," said independent driver George Hauschild of Palm Springs. "They don't even let you use the bathroom."

At every one of the 2,966 Wal-Marts in the U.S., thermostats are kept at a steady 73 degrees in summer, 70 degrees in winter; raising or lowering the temperature is considered a waste of money.

Such measures seem mild compared with what Wal-Mart has done to cut payroll costs. In one case, a jury in Oregon last year found that company managers had coerced hundreds of employees to work overtime without pay.

The managers were driven by intense pressure from Bentonville, witnesses said. Managers whose labor costs were considered too high were singled out during the company's weekly in-house satellite broadcasts. In response, managers tampered with electronic time cards or bullied employees to work off the clock, according to trial testimony.

The Oregon jury found last December that Wal-Mart's behavior was illegal and willful. A separate trial to determine damages for the 290 plaintiffs is set for early next year.

Wal-Mart settled similar overtime suits in Colorado and New Mexico for undisclosed amounts. More than 40 other cases are awaiting trial.

The company says it prohibits off-the-clock work and blames the problems on a small number of rogue managers.

Last month, Wal-Mart ran into trouble because of another cost-cutting practice: using dirt-cheap janitorial services.

A grand jury is investigating whether Wal-Mart knew that janitors provided by subcontractors were illegal immigrants cheated out of overtime pay. Federal agents raided 61 Wal-Marts across the country and seized boxes of documents from the Bentonville headquarters. Wal-Mart has denied wrongdoing.

Scott, the CEO, lauded Wal-Mart's employment record. Even in tight labor markets, he said, the company never has trouble finding workers.

"It is not forced labor," he said. "The truth is, I go to the stores and shake hands with the associates, and they like working at Wal-Mart."

On the Fast Track

Aaron Rios liked working at Wal-Mart so much that he decided to make his career there.

Like two-thirds of Wal-Mart's store managers, Rios started off as an hourly worker — in his case, stocking shoes on the graveyard shift at the Wal-Mart in his hometown of Hanford in the San Joaquin Valley.

After two years, Rios was recommended for management training — the company's fast track — leading him to quit community college and pursue a climb through the Wal-Mart ranks.

"There's just something about a Wal-Mart environment," said Rios, who became manager of the Serene Avenue Supercenter in Las Vegas at age 26.

"It changed who I am, where I was going and what my career goals were."

Wal-Mart store managers earn about \$95,000 annually, including bonuses, according to the company. Supercenter managers earn \$130,000.

A management position requires long hours — as many as 80 a week — and, often, a willingness to relocate. Rios worked at six California Wal-Mart stores before taking the helm at Serene Avenue.

"It doesn't come free," said Rios, a divorced father who shares custody of his 2-year-old son.

Still, he said, the benefits outweigh the sacrifices.

"I have an open opportunity. I could go into real estate for Wal-Mart. I could do systems, analysis, accounting. It's endless," Rios said. "If I wanted to go to Germany or Japan or Brazil or any of the markets we have, I believe I could go."

A few weeks later, Rios snared another promotion, moving back to California as a district manager in the Antelope Valley, overseeing seven stores from Barstow to Palmdale.

Larry Allen had his own dreams of climbing the Wal-Mart ladder.

In the fall of 2001, he and his wife, Jacque, left Portland, Ore., where the economy was sputtering, and headed to Las Vegas. He was an executive chef and she worked in catering. They looked forward to a fresh start in unionized casino jobs, making more than \$15 an hour, with health insurance and pensions.

But their timing was lousy. Recession and terrorism were hitting the gaming industry hard, and work of any kind was scarce.

Just before their money ran out, the Allens lowered their expectations and took jobs at the Serene Avenue Wal-Mart. Jacque, then 43, worked the counter at the in-store restaurant, Radio Grill. Larry, 46, stocked produce. They each earned \$8 an hour.

Despite the letdown, Larry Allen said he attacked the job with enthusiasm. Inspired by tales of well-paid Wal-Mart managers who had started out as hourly employees, such as his manager Aaron Rios, he figured on working his way up. That was Sam's way, he said.

"I've been following Sam Walton since the 1970s," he said. "He's the American dream."

The glow faded quickly. At his 90-day review, Allen said, he received an unenthusiastic write-up and an hourly raise of 35 cents. His supervisor told him that if he continued working hard, in two years he might make his way up to \$10 an hour.

Allen thinks he knows why he received such mediocre marks. For one thing, he was prone to question company policy. Then, Allen committed the ultimate act of disloyalty: He openly promoted unionization.

West Coast Ambitions

For decades, Wal-Mart has tantalized and frustrated union organizers. But the company's move into the grocery business — a labor stronghold — has raised the stakes dramatically.

Union organizers say the high wages and benefits of their members are at risk, as Wal-Mart expands its Supercenters beyond the South and Midwest. The company recently established a beachhead in Las Vegas, with five centers.

Next stop: California, where Wal-Mart plans to open 40 Supercenters starting early next year. In a sense, it has already arrived. Wal-Mart's low wages are a central factor in the labor dispute between California's three major supermarket chains and the United Food and Commercial Workers.

"They are the third party now that comes to every bargaining situation," said Mike Leonard, director of strategic programs for the UFCW.

Over many years of hard negotiating, the union has won and maintained premier contracts for its 800,000 grocery workers. But with the opening of each new Supercenter, the union's clout erodes.

Every one of the giant stores sucks away about 200 UFCW jobs, said retail consultant Burt P. Flickinger III, who runs Strategic Resource Group in New York. That means less power at the bargaining table and less money to hire organizers.

On average, Flickinger says, Wal-Mart's wage-and-benefit package is about \$10 an hour less than those offered by unionized supermarkets.

For shoppers, that makes a big difference. A cartful of groceries is 17% to 39% cheaper at a Wal-Mart Supercenter than at a unionized supermarket, according to a survey last year in Las Vegas, Dallas and Tampa, Fla., by investment bank UBS Warburg.

Wal-Mart's move into groceries has led 25 regional supermarket chains around the nation to close or file for bankruptcy protection, eliminating 12,000 mostly union jobs, Flickinger said.

With this in mind, Safeway Inc. recently aired a videotaped message to employees, whose contract in Las Vegas expires next fall.

"Wal-Mart wants our customers and your jobs," said Safeway executive Larree Renda. Total wage and benefit costs represent 15% of sales at Safeway, Renda said. At Wal-Mart, they account for 9%.

"If we don't change," Renda said, "you bet we'll lose jobs — and it will be in the thousands."

Staying Unorganized

From their first day on the job, Wal-Mart employees are advised to avoid unions and to report any organizing activities to their supervisors.

"If a union got in here, every benefit we've got could go on the negotiating table, every one of them," says a man identified as Russell, a veteran employee, in a video shown to new hires. "Unions will negotiate just about anything to get the right to have dues deducted out of paychecks. You see, they need big money to pay union bigwigs and their lawyers."

Company policy prohibits any union talk in work areas, and organizers say they routinely are asked to leave stores. The retailer sought, and last year

received, a court order keeping organizers out of all of its stores in Arkansas. The state Supreme Court nullified the order in July.

At the first hint of union activity, Wal-Mart managers are supposed to call a hotline, usually prompting a team visit from Bentonville.

Wal-Mart spokeswoman Mona Williams said the intervention was meant to help store managers respond effectively and legally.

"Our philosophy is that only an unhappy associate would be interested in joining a union," she said, "so that's why Wal-Mart does everything it can to make sure that we are providing our associates what they want and need."

But dozens of times in the last four years, attorneys for the National Labor Relations Board have claimed that the company infringed on the supermarket union's legal right to organize.

Although some of those claims have been thrown out, others have been upheld by administrative law judges, who have ruled that Wal-Mart illegally influenced employees with offers of raises, promotions and improved working conditions just before they were to vote on whether to join a union.

Judges also have found that Wal-Mart illegally implied that workers could lose benefits such as insurance and profit sharing if they unionized.

What's more, managers illegally confiscated union literature, threatened to close down a store if workers voted to join the union, fired several union supporters and failed to promote others, according to rulings from Minnesota to Florida.

Stymied in their previous attempts to organize Wal-Mart workers, UFCW leaders adopted a new strategy in 2000. They decided to marshal their resources for a concerted organizing effort in one place: Las Vegas.

The union reached out to workers with a Web site and a weekly radio talk show, and posted organizers outside Wal-Mart stores at all hours. When they could, UFCW members would leave union literature inside stores, hoping that workers would see it before managers ordered the material thrown away.

Larry Allen got his first glimpse at a union pamphlet last year as he carried it to the garbage at the Serene Avenue Supercenter. He was hooked, and began advocating for an election to bring in the union.

"Somebody has got to step up and fight for what is right," Allen said.

Ripple Effect

Less than a mile away from the Serene Avenue store, another shopping center stands deserted, in desperate need of an anchor.

A year ago, the Raley's grocery store here drew thousands of shoppers who spilled out to neighboring businesses, buying flowers, mailing packages, getting their nails done. Today, the store is gone. The remaining shops are struggling.

"I'm probably down 45%," said Bonnie Neisius, who owns a UPS Store franchise in the center. "I just don't get the foot traffic anymore."

A few doors away, Windmill Flowers owner Diana I. Murphy leaned on a table where she would have been arranging bouquets — had there been customers.

"There are a couple of things in play," Murphy said. "The recession, terrorism. And Wal-Mart. It's had a direct effect on me, because they sell flowers, too.... They even deliver."

Unlike small towns with boarded-up commercial centers, fast-growing Vegas quickly loses track of its Wal-Mart victims.

Wal-Mart's costs to the community tend to show up in subtler ways.

In an informal survey in the late 1990s of people who used Las Vegas emergency rooms for routine medical care, patients who said they were employed but uninsured were asked where they worked.

"Wal-Mart came up more than any other," said Dr. Raj Chanderraj, a Las Vegas cardiologist and chairman of the Clark County Health Care Access Consortium, a group that works to provide medical services to the uninsured.

The reason, say critics: Because Wal-Mart pays such low wages, many employees can't afford the health insurance the company offers. And those who do have health coverage through the company often can't afford deductibles that run as high as \$3,000 a year.

"Their employees are ending up at the county hospital and become the burden of the county," said Clark County Manager Thom Reilly.

Wal-Mart disputes that. Williams, the company spokeswoman, said that 48% of employees are covered by Wal-Mart's health insurance plan. Among those who aren't, 26% have coverage from another source such as a spouse's employer or Medicare, Williams said.

The notion that Wal-Mart doesn't provide adequate health coverage is "just rhetoric," she said. "It's simply not true."

According to the Employee Benefit Research Institute in Washington, nearly 44% of workers in the retail sector as a whole have employer-provided health coverage. Among big companies in all industries, the figure is 66%.

Those who accuse Wal-Mart of shortchanging its employees, Williams suggested, don't understand the modern service economy. "Retail and service wages are what they are," she said, "whether you look at a department store, a discount store, the local dry cleaners, the bakery or whatever."

"Wal-Mart is a great match for a lot of people," Williams added. "But if you are the sole provider for your family and do not have the time or the skills to move up the ladder, then maybe it's not the right place for you."

'I Still Believe in Wal-Mart'

Larry Allen spent about a year advocating for the supermarket union while working at Wal-Mart.

In the parking lot and in the break room, he passed out fliers and talked up the benefits of unionizing. But he and his fellow union backers didn't get as far as they hoped. About 42% of workers in the grocery department at Serene Avenue signed UFCW cards — not enough for the union to feel

confident about winning an election.

In August, Allen was fired. NLRB attorneys said it was because of his union activities and filed a complaint against Wal-Mart, seeking his reinstatement.

On a recent afternoon outside the Supercenter, dozens of union members rallied to support Allen. "Larry, Larry, Larry," they chanted. Over at the store entrance, the demonstration was a muffled, distant bit of noise. Store managers watched on a screen as surveillance cameras scanned the crowd.

Asked about the commotion, a gray-haired Wal-Mart greeter named Robert just smiled. "They want to make the store union," he said. "But that would make the prices go up for our customers. We can't let that happen."

On some level, even Larry Allen understands. "I still believe in Wal-Mart," said Allen, who now is on the union payroll as an organizer. "I like the idea of it — give a quality product at a low price. It's what the American public wants."

COMING MONDAY

Overseas, Wal-Mart's low-cost suppliers feel the heat.

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Is Wal-Mart Good for America?

<i>Is Wal-Mart Good for America?</i>	
Benefits to Wal-Mart	Drawbacks to Wal-Mart

Section III: Immigration, Urbanization, & Politics

Focus Questions:

- **What forces encouraged and discouraged immigration to the United States during this time period?**
- **Why did American nativist groups oppose free, unrestricted immigration in the late 19th and early 20th centuries?**
- **To what extent did/does immigration shape American identity?**
- **What solutions to urban problems were developed in the late 19th century?**
- **What was the relationship between political machines and immigrants?**
- **How did the political machine gain and lose power?**

The significance of the publication of these lifelets was that between the Civil War and World War I the United States was self-consciously a nation of immigrants. From 1880 through 1919, the United States drew twenty-three million immigrants to her shores. Most immigrants entered at Ellis Island, in the shadow of the Statue of Liberty in New York harbor. Emma Lazarus expressed the gravitational pull of the United States when in 1883 she wrote "The New Colossus," contrasting the Statue of Liberty with the Colossus of Rhodes, one of the legendary wonders of the ancient world. The Philadelphia poet named the statue "Mother of Exiles," and gave voice to her silent lips:

Give me your tired, your poor,
Your huddled masses yearning to breathe free,
The wretched refuse of your teeming shore.
Send these, the homeless, tempest-tost to me.

So they came, drawn by the beacons of economic opportunity, religious freedom, and hope. In the cities and on the prairies they sought their fortune. Railroad company advertisements, state emigration agents, and letters from relatives and friends in the United States promised success and prosperity; the riches to be found in America where "streets were paved with gold" became part of European folklore. Other immigrants came to practice their religion in the United States because it had no single established church and was more-tolerant-of-religious diversity.

By the late 1880s the pattern of immigration to the United States was significantly different from that of the earlier period. Between 1860 and 1890, ten million immigrants arrived in the United States, predominantly from the British Isles, Germany, Scandinavia, Switzerland, and Holland. In the peak year of 1882, eighty-seven percent of the immigrants came from these countries. But the fifteen million immigrants who entered the United States between 1890 and 1914 came largely from Italy, Russia, Austria-Hungary, Greece, Rumania, and Turkey. Referred to as the "new immigrants," people from these countries comprised eighty-one percent of all immigrants in the peak year of 1907.

Source:

Katzman and Tuttle. *Plain Folk*.
Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1983.

Earlier in the century, Americans had welcomed immigrants. The potential garden beyond the Mississippi lured people to till the soil and to recover the abundance of natural resources. All who could make the journey would contribute to the nation's productivity; through their labor in the garden, unused land would yield harvests. They would become the independent yeoman farmers of the Jeffersonian tradition and, in the process, help shape the new America, a blending of all the finer characteristics of the Old World shaped by the best of the new one. It was an optimistic vision, at least for whites; blacks, Orientals, and Native Americans were excluded.

In the late nineteenth century this optimism began to erode. Industrialization brought in its wake major depressions in the 1870s, 1880s, and 1890s. Labor conflict and violence dramatically undermined visions of a natural harmony between capital and labor. European political radicalism and utopianism in the forms of socialism, communism, and anarchism brought nascent revolutionary stirrings to American shores. Events highlighted and exacerbated these very real fears: the violence of the Molly Maguires in the Pennsylvania coal fields, the national railroad strike of 1877, the 1886 Haymarket massacre, the 1893 Pullman strike, mining strikes in Colorado, and the assassinations of two presidents—James Garfield and William McKinley—all contrasted sharply with the optimistic vision of the pre-Civil War pastoral republic.

Native-born Americans blamed immigrants for these developments. Some attributed economic depressions to the inability of the new immigrants to adapt to American society. Others complained that the immigrants did not work hard enough or that, by avoiding agriculture, immigrants formed a parasitic group within the economy. Some Americans complained that the new immigrants brought conflicts with them from the Old World to the New; their politics or ethnic nationalism or class identity or religion introduced unnatural conflict in what was a harmonious society. The growing distrust of immigrants culminated during the depression of 1893 to 1897. The American Protective Association, founded as an anti-Catholic organization, blamed nearly all of America's problems on the new immigrants. From the well of Congress in Washington, D.C., to the pulpits of churches in the Midwest, orators expressed their loss of faith in the

ability of the United States to absorb immigrants or in the wisdom of even trying to do so. In addition, many people now saw the wealth of the United States as finite. Immigrants not only did not contribute to the growing national wealth or productivity, but also, the anti-immigrant argument went, by increasing the population they had reduced the slices of the finite pie of resources available to everyone. Economic recovery in 1897 and the decline of the American Protective Association did not end the debate over the contribution of immigrants. The Dillingham Commission clearly doubted the ability of American society to absorb the new immigrants, and its findings were supported by contemporary theories of race in anthropology, so that by the 1920s free entry into the United States would be virtually ended.

While the native-born debated immigration policy, immigrants built and reshaped much of American society and life. They had helped build the American industrial order and, contrary to popular mythology, many of them had settled the agricultural land which fed the burgeoning cities; and they had helped build the railroads and supplied the labor for mines and factories. They had also transformed American politics, introducing the personalized style of clubhouse and patronage politics, and they had altered the political agenda, becoming a voice in state action. They had created new institutions in American society and, by doing so, had introduced the cultural variety and pluralism which have become hallmarks of the United States.

In reshaping American society, immigrants experienced a process in which they themselves were reshaped as well. In immigrating to the United States, they brought with them life-styles and cultural patterns different from the ones they encountered here; the ideals, habits, and rituals of life in their native hamlets and cities differed from the society they encountered after passing through Ellis Island. Once in the United States, immigrants wrestled with the conflict between adapting to American society while trying to maintain their traditional, European customs. Many wished to become "Americanized," to shed the label of "greenhorn" and mirror their image of the native-born, while many others sought to resist Americanizing, to maintain their native languages and life-styles. Settlement in an immigrant ghetto, for instance, could shelter the immigrant from direct and

pervasive contact with American culture. Assimilation in or resistance to American culture, however, were ideal extremes; in reality, most immigrants accepted some aspects of American society while resisting others. But the process created a basic tension which became characteristic of immigrant life.

Cultural tensions were not limited solely to European immigrants. The American-born were moving as well from farm to city, from one region of the country to another, and from city to city; they, too, encountered new patterns of life and experienced the tensions of the adaptive-resistance process. For example, Southern black men and women, Kentucky hill people, and Vermont farm girls all encountered new cultural patterns in the cities to which they migrated. Even Americans who remained in their rural surroundings had to deal with economic and social change. Industrialization and urbanization so transformed the United States in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries that all Americans—immigrants and native-born, movers and stayers alike—had to confront changing life patterns. As producers and consumers, Americans became interdependent on each other and on regional or national markets. Subsistence farming, for example, gave way to the staple agricultural system where farmers grew crops for market and entered the money economy. Railroads brought their farm produce to market and returned with manufactured and consumer goods for farmers to purchase. Simultaneously, the craftsmen's workshops and the apprentice-journeyman-master system gave way to structured factories and assigned work tasks. Consumer items were no longer made to order locally; they carried a fixed price and were manufactured rather than crafted.

Workers in the United States, whether native or foreign-born, had been accustomed to traditional work rhythms. People in rural society, for example, had followed such rhythms of nature as the sun and rainfall. Before artificial lights, craftsmen spent more time at their benches during the longer daylight hours of summer than in the shorter daytime of winter. Agriculture obviously had seasonal cycles as well: intensive seasonal planting, weeding, and harvesting, sometimes around the clock, followed by harvest holidays and a slower work pace until the cycle was repeated the following year. The pattern differed, however, from village to village, as different nationality and

religious groups pursued their own customs and rhythms.

Industrial society changed the structure of work in the United States. Unlike the craftsmen who had made the whole product, such as a shoe or coat or chair, factory workers gathered in large numbers under one roof, performed according to preset rules, and became minutely specialized in making one item or accomplishing one task. In the factory a worker cut soles or sewed buttons or lathed chair legs or merely assembled the final product. Rather than using their judgment or experience gained from years as apprentices or journeymen, or of fitting the needs of a customer with whom they had dealt personally, they now performed impersonal tasks assigned by managers or engineers. Under the factory system control of the work lay with the foreman, not with the workers themselves.

Industrial society imposed new work habits on all workers. The discipline of the clock replaced seasonal and cultural rhythms, and employees worked a fixed number of hours in summer and winter. Factory workers were cogs in a complex machine which required harmony, unity, and subservience to function. Factory managers were thus intolerant of work patterns that encouraged workers, in performing tasks, to follow traditional cultural and ethnic rhythms rather than the preassigned discipline. Bosses, for example, would not tolerate workers who insisted on celebrating their own national holidays rather than reporting to work. Managers insisted that workers had to be trained to adapt to the factory; they needed new discipline, new habits, new attitudes. Bosses clothed the process in the most patriotic of terms: it was Americanization. Those who failed to adapt not only threatened the new American industrial order, the job of building modern America, but denied themselves the fruits of American capitalism.

For workers the process of change was complex and demanding, although the new discipline offered not only economic benefits but also in some cases physical survival. But there was value in tradition as well. Indeed, many people perceived their very identity and sense of self to be indivisible from ethnic, religious, and cultural traditions. The demands of the factory conflicted with familial and kinship ties, religious imperatives, and social customs and patterns.

Many refused to accept the inevitability of the changes wrought by

European conditions influenced the ebb and flow of immigration to the United States. Industrialization in northern Europe opened up economic opportunities at the end of the nineteenth century and slowed emigration abroad. Heavy migration to the United States earlier in the century had reduced pressures from overpopulation and removed some of the stimuli for leaving northern and western Europe. The famine and poor crops in Ireland in the 1840s and in Sweden in the 1860s had not been repeated. At the same time, conditions in eastern and southern Europe had encouraged millions of families and individuals to leave their homes to find new lives across the ocean. Not only had many eastern and southern Europeans faced limited economic opportunities at home, but also population in those parts of Europe was expanding rapidly, and small farmers, craftsmen, and peasants could neither support their families nor provide opportunities for their children. In some cases, landlords promoted emigration by dispossessing their tenants. In addition, some people fled to the United States for safety, as did Jews from czarist Russia after 1881. Government-provoked pogroms in Russia destroyed countless Jewish communities and killed thousands. Similarly European ethnic minorities—Germans in Russia, Greeks in Rumania, Macedonians in the Balkans, and Czechs in the Austro-Hungarian Empire—found their ethnic identity repressed and, without a national state, sought freedom in the United States. Moreover, the development of transoceanic steamers brought the cost of the Atlantic passage within the means of large masses of eastern and southern Europeans for the first time; they booked passage either with tickets bought themselves or with those purchased and sent back by relatives already in the New World.

The earlier immigrants, those from northern Europe, had received a more hospitable reception in the United States than did the new immigrants. The report of the Dillingham Commission, established by Congress in 1907 to investigate the shift in immigration, reflected the changed American attitude toward immigration and the new immigrants. The commission reported that there was a fundamental difference in the character of American immigration before and after the 1880s. In the earlier period, immigration had been largely a movement of families seeking permanent homes in the New World.

Introduction

Northern Europeans, the report argued, had assimilated quickly into American society. In contrast, the new immigrants from southern and eastern Europe were in large part unskilled laborers who had come as transients. Unlike earlier immigrants, they avoided agriculture and congregated in the industrial cities of the East and Midwest, where they clustered in their own communities apart from other Americans.

In dwelling on the "perils" to American society from the new immigration, the Dillingham Commission was wrong but many of its descriptions of the new immigrants were correct. Many of the new immigrants were transients, in part because steamer passage facilitated easy travel back and forth across the Atlantic. On the other hand, those who, like the Jews, had fled religious persecution usually settled permanently in the United States. Most of the new immigrants did settle in cities rather than in agricultural areas, thus stimulating the emergence of ghettos in which ethnic-based foreign-language societies and institutions flourished. Many of the old immigrants, however, had exhibited similar patterns. British and Irish immigrants to the United States, for instance, were no less transient than the new immigrants: between 1881 and 1889, 370,000 Britons and Irish left the United States to return home. Those emigrating from the British Isles also congregated together, forming ethnic enclaves within American society. For example, ethnically based societies and institutions thrived in predominantly Welsh mining towns and English mill villages throughout the United States. These immigrants, too, founded their own churches, groceries, taverns, sports leagues, and newspapers separate and apart from the rest of American society.

What did change radically was the attitude of many native-born Americans toward immigrants in general, and this change found expression in virulent hostility against the new immigrants. The optimism with which Emma Lazarus had penned "The New Colossus" in 1883 had faded by the turn of the century; pessimism over the ability of the United States to absorb large numbers of immigrants had become dominant. The experiences of Americans in a society undergoing transformation from a traditional, mostly agrarian society to a modern, industrial, and urban America was so searing and uprooting that optimism itself became a major victim.

factory civilization. The most significant labor organization of the mid-1880s, the Knights of Labor, represented, in part, a rejection of the new industrial order. The Knights pictured an ideal society of small shopkeepers and independent craftsmen living and working within a Christian cooperative commonwealth. Similarly many workers sought to escape the new discipline by becoming their own bosses. Seeking to rise in the social order rather than trying to improve their conditions as workers, they identified with foremen and aspired to join the latter's ranks. Or they started their own businesses, substituting intensive labor for a lack of capital. Although few were successful, the slim prospects of success did not extinguish the flame of hope.

Many of the factory workers engaged in a struggle with managers over control of their work tasks and conditions. On a daily basis they resisted the new discipline and habits, continuing to perform tasks according to traditional patterns and absenting themselves from work on ethnic and religious holidays. Some formed labor unions in a collective attempt to exert control over their working lives. Later workers turned to government and, through hours, wage, and safety legislation, sought to check management's powers. These tensions in the workplace between the pulls of tradition and custom on the one hand, and the demands of the modern, industrial society on the other were experienced nearly everywhere in America in the first decade of the twentieth century.

Yet in the face of tension and insecurity, the lives of these undistinguished Americans had value and substance. If at times they lost faith in others, they seemed to maintain faith in themselves. They struggled with themselves and the larger society, with their tensions and insecurities, to make something of their own lives. Their voices, in the written word, are of people proud and self-aware. Their ability to articulate their own lives sets them apart from others of their generation, yet one can easily imagine hearing similar tales from their coworkers and neighbors if we could go back in time and interview them. Unable to do so we should then listen with greater attention to their stories.

Lawrence, Kansas

January 1, 1981

(Record answers on separate sheet)

Discussion Questions:

1. What forces encouraged and discouraged immigration in the U.S.?
2. Immigration patterns have been divided into two different categories: Old (1860-1890) and New (1890-1914). Describe the differences that existed between the two.
3. When and why did attitudes of native-born Americans change toward immigrants?
4. Describe the ways immigrants have built and reshaped much of American society and life?
5. What does it mean to be "Americanized"?
6. How did industrialization and urbanization transform U.S. society?

Major U.S. Immigration Laws

U.S. Constitution (1789) gave Congress the power to "establish an uniform Rule of Naturalization."

Immigration Act of 1819 set standards for vessels bringing immigrants. Ship captains had to provide customs officials with a list of immigrants describing where they came from, where they were going, and their age, sex, and occupation. Passengers ill with contagious diseases had to be quarantined. States carried out the provisions of this law.

Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo (1848) granted U.S. citizenship to Mexicans living in the territory ceded by Mexico to the United States.

14th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution (1868) guaranteed that "All persons born or naturalized in the United States . . . are citizens of the United States . . ."

Chinese Exclusion Act (1882) banned for 10 years Chinese immigration and eligibility for citizenship. The law was renewed in 1892 and 1892 and made permanent in 1902. It was not repealed until World War II.

Contract Labor Law of 1885 outlawed the practice of signing up foreign laborers to work in America for low wages. No immigrant could have a job or a promise of a job before landing.

Immigration Act of 1891 gave the job of processing immigrants to the federal government. Federal inspectors examined immigrants on arrival. The law also barred persons suffering from "loathesome or dangerous diseases," those convicted of crimes involving "moral turpitude," polygamists, and those whose passage was paid for by others. Those rejected for immigration were deported at the expense of the shipping companies.

Immigration Act of 1907 allowed the president to make an agreement with Japan to limit the number of Japanese immigrants. The law also barred the feeble-minded, those with physical or mental defects, those suffering from tuberculosis, children under 16 without parents, and women entering for "immoral purposes."

Immigration Act of 1917 banned all "aliens over sixteen years of age, physically capable of reading, who cannot read the English language, or some other language or dialect . . ."

National Origins (First Quota) Act of 1921 limited the number of immigrants from any country to 3 percent of the foreign-born persons of that nationality living in the United States in 1910. This formula provided for relatively large immigrant quotas for Northern Europe and small quotas for Southern and Eastern Europe.

National Origins (Second Quota) Act of 1924 further discriminated against Southern and Eastern Europeans by limiting the number of immigrants from any country to 2 percent of foreign born persons of that nationality living in the U.S. in 1890. Only 164,000 immigrants were to be admitted each year; this total was further reduced to 150,000 in 1929. The law also imposed new restrictions on Asian immigration.

Displaced Persons Act of 1948 allowed into the United States refugees from countries ravaged by World War II, but their entry was charged to the national quota limits established in 1924.

McCarren-Walter Act of 1952 maintained the quota system and limited immigration to 150,000 persons a year. In addition, refugees fleeing communist countries were admitted under special parole authority of the U.S. attorney general.

Immigration Act of 1965 abolished the national origins quota system. Preference is given to skilled persons and immigrants who are closely related to American citizens. After five years residency in the United States, immigrants may apply for naturalized citizenship.

Refugee Act of 1980 defined a "refugee" as any person leaving his or her own country because of a "well founded fear of persecution on account of race, religion, nationality, membership in a particular group, or political opinion."

Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986 made it illegal for employers to knowingly hire illegal immigrants. It also set up a process to grant amnesty and legal papers to about 1.5 million undocumented people in the United States.

Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act of 1996 authorized more Border Patrol agents and a triple fence along the San Diego border, made tougher penalties for smuggling people and creating fraudulent documents, and created an "expedited removal" process to remove anyone trying to enter the United States without proper documents.

USA Patriot Act of 2001 put immigration under the control of the newly created Department of Homeland Security and tripled the budget for Border Patrol agents along the Canadian border.

To what extent does immigration shape American identity?

Using the outline of "Major U.S Immigration Laws", answer the following questions. Be prepared to share your thoughts with your classmates when you come to class. P.S: keep the above question in mind...

1. What are the common links/similarities between the immigration laws? Explain.
2. Who were targeted groups & why? (*groups* as in were there immigrants from specific regions of the globe that were targeted)
3. Review the dates of when these acts were passed? Any significance to any of them? You may want to flip through your textbook while noting such...
4. What was/were the harshest law(s) against immigration?
5. In your opinion, which law is the most important? Why?
6. In your opinion, which law is the most influential on the general public of the United States? Why?
7. From the perspective of an immigrant, which laws were most lenient?

Immigration and the American Identity

Getting Started:

1. What do you think is necessary to become a citizen?
2. Within the naturalization process, what responsibilities should the immigrant have?
3. Should the government carry any responsibilities for the care of immigrants?

This section should be completed after you have viewed the naturalization test.

1. What kinds of questions are being asked?
2. Do you think there are any questions that are missing?
3. Do you think these questions are reflective of the American Identity?

What Would You Do To Improve Conditions?

The year is 1880. New York City's swelling population has created a housing crisis. Immigrant families crowd into apartments that lack light, ventilation, and sanitary facilities. Children have nowhere to play except in the streets and are often kept out of school to work and help support their families.

Task:

Your group is New York's City Council and it is your job to improve these conditions. You will need to:

- 1) evaluate the problems facing NYC
- 2) Decide how you can fix these problems
- 3) Since you only have a limited budget and can't fix all problems at once, you need to decide which problems you will fix first. Therefore, once you determine your solutions, you will work with your group to rank each problem & solution in the order of importance. There are 6 problems facing you – you will need to rank them in 1-6.
- 4) For the problem/solutions you determine to be of the most importance (1) and of least importance (6) you will need to explain your reasoning behind your decision.
- 5) Once you decide your solutions, I'll let you know what really happened!

HOUSING
<p>Problem:</p> <p>When the industrial age began, working class families in cities had two housing options. They could either buy a house on the outskirts of town, where they would face transportation problems, or rent cramped rooms in a boardinghouse in the central city. As the urban population increased, however, new types of housing were designed. For example, row houses – single family dwellings that shared side walls with other similar houses – packed many single-family residences onto a single block. After working class families left the central city, immigrants often took over their old housing, sometimes with two or three families occupying a one family residence. These multi-family urban dwellings, called <i>tenements</i>, were overcrowded and unsanitary.</p>
<p>Your Solution & Rank:</p>

How Cities Responded:

TRANSPORTATION

Problem:

In 1800s, the streets of most American cities were not paved. Roads were dusty in summer and muddy in winter. Improvements were slow, and there was controversy over paving materials. Asphalt was smooth, long lasting, and easy to clean, but expensive. Workers could not easily get to work or to outlying communities.

Your Solution & Rank:

How Cities Responded:

WATER

Problem:

Cities also faced the problems of supplying safe drinking water. As the urban population grew in the 1840s and 1850s, cities such as New York and Cleveland built public waterworks to handle the increasing demand. As late as the 1860s, however, the residents of many cities had grossly inadequate piped water – plumbing, and residents had to collect water in pails from faucets on the street and heat it for bathing. The necessity of improving water

quality to control diseases such as cholera and typhoid fever was obvious.

Your Solution & Rank:

How Cities Responded:

SANITATION

Problem:

As the cities grew, so did the challenge of keeping them clean. Horse manure piled up on the streets, sewage flowed through open gutters, and factories spewed foul smoke into the air. Without dependable trash collection, people dumped their garbage on the streets. Although private contractors called scavengers were hired to sweep the streets, collect garbage, and clean outhouses, they often did not do the jobs properly.

Your Solution & Rank:

How Cities Responded:

CRIME
Problem: As the population of cities increased, pickpockets and thieves flourished.
Your Solution & Rank:
How Cities Responded:

FIRE
Problem: The limited water supply in many cities contributed to another menace: the spread of fires. Major fires occurred in almost every large American city during the 1870s, and the 1880s. In addition to lacking water with which to combat blazes, most cities were packed with wooded dwellings, which were like kindling waiting to be ignited. The use of candles and kerosene heaters also posed a fire hazard. In San Francisco, deadly fires broke out during earthquakes.
Your Solution & Rank:
How Cities Responded:

What problem was the most important to fix & why?

What problem was least important to fix & why?

Exploring the Tenements of the Lower East Side
97 Orchard Street, New York, NY
WebQuest

Directions:

- ☐ Turn computer on
- ☐ Open up Safari or Firefox
- ☐ Go to: www.tenement.org
- ☐ When the page opens, scroll down to “**Virtual Tour**”
- ☐ Read the introduction
- ☐ Click on “**Enter Here**” (there should be a big arrow)
- ☐ You are now entering 97 Orchard Street

The next page is the hallway in ruins of 97 Orchard Street: you may explore the house.
Answer the following questions:

1. What amenities did 97 Orchard Street lack?
2. What prompted the landlords to fix the tenement up?

Click on “**Early Tenements**” and read the description.

3. In 1864 what percent of New York City residents lived in tenement houses?

- In the upper left hand of the window, there is a selection bar that says, “Select an Apartment.” You will have the opportunity to explore five different apartments at 97 Orchard Street and read about the families that lived there. When you select a family a brief biography will come up and you will have the option to read more about the family. Please choose to read more. Explore each apartment and answer the following questions regarding each family.

The Confino Family:

1. From where did the Confino family emigrate?
2. What cultural differences did they face in the Lower East Side?

The Rogarshevsky Family:

1. From where did the Rogarshevsky family emigrate?
2. How many family members were living in their apartment?
3. How did the family find comfort in the United States?

The Levine Family

1. From where did the Levine family emigrate?
2. What purpose did the Levine's apartment serve (other than living quarters)?
3. Why were Harris Levin's employees encouraged to produce as many articles of clothing as possible?
4. How much money did the Levine family have to spend per week?

The Baldizzi Family:

1. From where did the Baldizzi family emigrate?
2. What was Josephine's father's profession in Italy? What did he do in America?
3. Why was the Baldizzi family forced to move in 1930?

The Gumpertz Family:

1. From where did the Gumpertz family emigrate?
2. How did Nathalie support her family after Julius's death?

How were these families' experiences similar and different from each other? Note at least 2 for each.

Similarities:

1.

2.

Differences:

1.

2.

UNIT EIGHT READINGS

The Arrival Of Reform

Taken From:
Sources in American
History: A Book of
Readings (1986)

READING FOCUS

1. What was the basic philosophy on which Tammany Hall operated?
2. Why was Plunkitt so successful?

167 How Tammany Hall Operated

By the end of the 1800's corrupt political machines controlled the governments of many large cities. Tammany Hall in New York City was one of the most powerful of these political machines. It stayed in power through graft, bought the votes of immigrants through favors, and set up a "balanced ticket" so that a member of each major ethnic group held a top position in city government. An important politician in Tammany Hall for many years was George Washington Plunkitt.

In 1905 a young newspaper reporter, William L. Riordan, wrote a book about Plunkitt. The book included an account, in Plunkitt's own words, on how he became a politician and a millionaire.

A cartoonist's impression of Tammany Hall



Everybody is talking these days about Tammany people growing rich on graft, but nobody thinks of drawing the distinction between honest graft and dishonest graft. There's all the difference in the world between the two. Yes, many of our people have grown rich in politics. I have myself. I've made a big fortune out of the game, and I'm getting richer every day. But I've not gone in for dishonest graft—black-mailing gamblers, saloon-keepers, and so on. And neither have any of the people who have made big fortunes in politics.

There's an honest graft, and I'm an example of how it works. I might sum up the whole thing by saying: "I seen my opportunities and I took 'em."

Just let me explain by examples. My party's in power in the city, and it's going to undertake a lot of public improvements. Well, I'm told ahead of time, say, that they're going to lay out a new park at a certain place.

I see my opportunity and I take it. I go to that place and buy up all the land I can in the neighborhood. Then the board of this or that makes its plan public, and there is a rush to get my land, which nobody wanted before.

Ain't it perfectly honest to charge a good price and make a profit on my investment and foresight? Of course, it is. Well, that's honest graft.

Adapted from William L. Riordan, Plunkitt of Tammany Hall.

Or supposing it's a new bridge they're going to build. I find out and I buy as much property as I can that has to be used for the road approaches to the bridge. I sell the property at my own price later on and drop some more money in the bank.

Wouldn't you? It's like looking ahead in Wall Street or in the coffee or cotton market. It's honest graft and I'm looking for it every day in the year. I will tell you frankly that I've got a lot of it, too.

I'll tell you of another case. They were going to fix up a big park. I learned of it and went looking about for land in that neighborhood. I could get nothing at a bargain except a big piece of swamp, but I bought it right away and held on to it. What happened was just what I counted on. They couldn't make the park complete without Plunkitt's swamp, and so they had to pay a good price for it. Anything dishonest in that?

I don't own a dishonest dollar. If my worst enemy was given the job of writing an epitaph for my grave marker he couldn't do more than write:

"George W. Plunkitt. He Seen His Opportunities, and He Took 'Em."

What's important in holding your grip on your district is to go right down among the poor families and help them in the different ways they need help. I've got a regular system for doing this.

If there's a fire on Ninth, Tenth, or Eleventh Avenue, for example, any hour of the day or night, I'm usually there with some of my election district captains as soon as the fire engines arrive. If a family is burned out, I don't ask whether they are Republicans or Democrats. I don't refer them to the Charity Organization Society, which would investigate their case in a month or two and decide they were worthy of help about the time they are dead from starvation. I just get a place for them to live, buy clothes for them if their clothes were burned up, and fix them up till they get things running again. It's philanthropy, but it's politics, too—mighty good politics. Who can tell how many votes one of these fires brings me? The poor are the most grateful people in the world, and, let me tell you, they have more friends in their neighborhoods than the rich have in theirs.

If there's a family in my district that needs help, I know it before the charitable societies

do. Me and my men are the first to help. I have a special group of people to look up such cases. The result is that the poor look up to George W. Plunkitt as a father, they come to him when they're in trouble, and they don't forget him on election day.

READING REVIEW

1. What did Plunkitt mean when he said, "I seen my opportunities and I took 'em"?
2. What methods did Plunkitt use to gain the support of his electorate?
3. (a) According to Plunkitt, what was the difference between honest and dishonest graft? (b) Do you think politicians today make this same distinction? Cite evidence from your textbook to support your opinion.

Name:
Date:

Berenson/Bartels
US/ACP

A & E Biography: Boss Tweed
Video Guide

Directions: Answer the questions using the information presented in the video.

1. What connection did Sheriff Jimmy O'Brien have to William Tweed?
2. What year was the peak of Boss Tweed's career/life?
3. How many properties did Boss Tweed own? Briefly describe them.
4. Who was the cartoonist that worked for *Harper's Weekly* that exposed William Tweed's corruption?
5. List the jobs in which Boss Tweed made money legally.
6. What was Tammany Hall?
7. What was one change Boss Tweed brought to Tammany Hall?
8. Describe how Tweed built a relationship with immigrants?
9. To Boss Tweed, what did the gifts at his daughter's wedding represent?

10. List the jobs Boss Tweed had after being a firefighter.
11. As nativist views spread, how did Tweed change his political strategy to gain power?
12. List two positive changes Tweed brought to New York.
13. How did the Civil War draft disrupt New York's immigrant population-especially the Irish?
14. Describe the treatment of African Americans during the Irish draft riots.
15. What agreement did Tweed make with the Secretary of War, Edwin Stanton, which enabled him to appease the immigrant population?
16. Why were machine politics attractive to immigrants?
17. Tweed heavily relied on the immigrant vote. Prior to his rule:
_____ immigrants were naturalized annually. However, in 1868 _____
were naturalized.

REFLECTION:

Boss Tweed is remembered as one of the most corrupt politicians; however, he also brought about positive changes in New York.

Do you think that his corrupt behavior is justified because of the benefits he brought to the poor, the immigrants, and New York City as a whole?

Is considering Tweed just another corrupt politician a fair representation?

Farmingville Reflection

1. As you view the documentary, record the different perspectives on undocumented workers in Farmingville.

2. What are the pros and cons of instituting a hiring center in Farmingville?

3. Reflecting on the immigration patterns of the Gilded Age, do you see any similarities or differences with the current day policies and/or treatment of immigrants of today?
4. The National Immigration Forum reports that, while 50% of native-born Americans think immigration levels are acceptable, 40% think they should decrease and 10% think immigration should stop altogether. Describe how you view immigration? What could be a potential solution to the issue of undocumented workers?

United States History

Recipe for the Gilded Age

Due: At the end of class on
50 points

Throughout our study of the Gilded Age, we have examined the transformation of the United States from an agrarian nation to an industrial society. With this transformation came the settlement of the West, the rise of big business and labor organizations, urbanization and immigration. These events all worked together to shape the beginnings of a modern America. Your task is to create a recipe that captures a theme within the Gilded Age. You must use 6-8 ingredients, choosing at least two elements from each section, for your recipe. Keep in mind how ingredients are measured in a recipe: cups, tablespoons, teaspoons, a pinch, a dollop etc. and use the measurements accordingly.

What you will turn in (must be typed):

1. A creative title which encapsulates the theme your group has chosen to highlight.

Example: **building a business emPIEr**

2. A list of the ingredients:

- Choose what you think are the most important specific components of your theme.
- List the appropriate ingredients with their measurements.

3. The directions for making the recipe:

- Write a coherent paragraph explaining how the ingredients you've chosen are necessary to cook up your theme!!

4. The content and presentation of your recipe must be reflective of an investment of time and thought.

- Be sure to be creative in the way you choose to present your recipe.

Recipe for the Gilded Age Rubric

	4	3	2	1
Creative Title 5	Title creatively encapsulates the theme your group has chosen. 5	Title encapsulates the theme your group has chosen. 4	Group has chosen a title which somewhat addresses your theme. 2	Group has chosen a title. 1
Ingredients 15	Group clearly identified 6-8 specific ingredients. Two from each unit section with appropriate measurements. 15	Group has identified 6-8 ingredients. Two from each unit section with measurements. 13	Groups has 6-8 ingredients with measurements. 11.5	Group has some ingredients. 10
Directions 20	Directions are clear and presented in a logical order. Each ingredient's purpose is justified/explained. 20	Directions are clear and presented in a logical order. Each ingredient is explained. 17	Directions are somewhat clear and logical. Most ingredients are explained. 15	Directions are unclear and/or illogical. Ingredients lack explanation. 13
Overall Presentation and investment of time 10	Content and presentation reflects an investment of time, thought, and creativity. 10	Content and presentation reflects thought and creativity. 8.5	Content and presentation somewhat reflects thought and creativity. 7.5	Content and presentation lack an investment of time, thought, and/or creativity. 6.5

Total Score: ____/50